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J. C. Warren.

Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Harvard University from 1806 to 1846.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN

ENGRAVED BY J. W. WATTS.

Brookline House.

BOSTON.

TICKNOR & FIELDS.

MDCCCLX.

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, M.D.

COMPILED CHIEFLY

FROM HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND JOURNALS.

BY

EDWARD WARREN, M.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

BOSTON:

TICKNOR AND FIELDS.

M.DCCC.LX.

WARREN, John Collins [1778–1856]

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TO

JAMES JACKSON, M.D.

FOR FIFTY YEARS THE FAITHFUL FRIEND AND ADVISER OF DR. WARREN,

These Volumes are gratefully Dedicated

BY

HIS CHILDREN.

PREFACE.

DR. WARREN had early formed the design of preparing materials for a biography. For this purpose, he formed, in the first place, a chronological record, — setting down from recollection, as far as possible, some important event in each year, by which that year should be marked, and his memory recalled to that period of time, — so as to serve as a nucleus, around which should gather other recollections and incidents.

He next commenced a list of subjects ; to which he added from time to time, as matters of interest occurred to him. This list furnished him with heads, from which he could select as inclination or opportunity prompted. Thus he formed what he termed his "Biographical Notes." These were written, by his dictation, in his leisure hours, — chiefly upon loose sheets of paper, so as to be susceptible of change of arrangement, — mostly about the years 1849, 1850. To these he added "Surgical Notes," commenced in 1849, and carefully revised, some years after, by himself.

The letters written from Europe during the period of his early studies in England, Scotland, and France, have been preserved with care, and are of great interest, as displaying the warmth and freshness of a youthful and sympathizing observer of the great events of that epoch.

During the time of his second visit to Europe, he kept an ample journal, which he carefully revised and arranged after his return home. This was in three quarto volumes, but consisted in very large proportion, as was natural, of medical matter.

From the time his revision of the European Journal was completed in 1838, he kept what he called a "Domestic Journal,"

in which were briefly noted the events of each day. This record was written with his own hand, up to the time when an affection of his eyes, in July, 1844, obliged him to discontinue it. After one year's interval, he resumed it by the aid of an amanuensis. From this time he scarcely missed a day until within a week of his death.

The printed writings, of which a carefully prepared catalogue is to be found in the Appendix, consist, in larger number, of articles written for medical and scientific journals; extending from the year 1802 to that of his death in 1856. I have carefully examined the whole of these, and have endeavored to give some notice of each paper in the year when it was published, and a more extended notice of his larger works.

These, then, were the principal materials for my work, — the Biographical and Surgical Notes, the Letters from Europe, the European Journal, and the Domestic Journal.

The simplest and far the easiest course would have been to prepare, in the first place, a general sketch of the life and writings of Dr. Warren; and then to have given, in order, his Biographical and Surgical Notes, his Letters, and the European and Domestic Journals. This plan has been pursued in relation to certain political characters, — as in the Life of John Adams by his grandson, — where journal, autobiography, and letters are all valuable, either as historical or political documents. It has the advantage of giving these parts in an entire and connected form; but it has the difficulty of involving much repetition, and compels the reader or student to turn from one part of the work to another.

I made it my aim, therefore, to weave together the different materials, and such others as could be obtained from individuals, or as supplied by my own knowledge of facts, into a connected narrative, — somewhat in the manner so ably done by Michelet in his Life of Martin Luther, or in that adopted in the Life of Sir Charles Napier.

But it seemed best to give the Biographical Notes as they were written; it being impossible to separate, without mangling, the different parts of the same subject, so as to bring events into the order of time. I have, therefore, introduced each portion under the year in which the account given by the writer commenced, the subject being sometimes continued through life. The subject of Religion, for example, is given under the year of his

connection with St. Paul's Church, and is carried to the end of his life; being completed from the various sources above referred to. The subject of Politics commences with his settlement in Boston, after the termination of his studies abroad; and is completed under one view.

In other respects, the history of each year is completed by portions of his journal or letters, and an account of his labors and publications for that year. Many of his early letters could not be given without too much repetition, as their substance is given in the Biographical Notes. The Domestic Journal, also, like the European, is full of medical matter unsuitable for the present volumes.

Since the printing of the work commenced, however, some portions have been added to it, others withdrawn, and changes of arrangement made, over which I have had no control.

To Professor HOLMES I am greatly indebted for his careful examination of the work in a crude state, his valuable advice in regard to it, and for some concluding pages.

E. W.

OCT. 31, 1859.

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JOHN COLLINS WARREN.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN was born in Boston, on the 1st of August, 1778.

At the time of his birth, his father, Dr. JOHN WARREN, lived in a house at the corner of Avon Place and Central Court. When he was a year old, the family removed to the corner of Sheafe's Lane (Avery Street) and Washington Street.

At the former residence, an event took place which he often alluded to in after-life, and may be quoted as showing how deeply an impression may be fixed in the mind of an infant.

Major Louis Baury de Bellerive, a French officer of the army of the American Revolution, an intimate friend of his father, was in the habit of visiting at the house, and took a great deal of notice of the child. He possessed estates in St. Domingo; and, on one occasion, he told him, that, if he would come to his country, he would show him *raisins* growing against

the walls, outside of the houses. The child, though only one year old, probably pondered upon this; and, aided by the elegant appearance of the officer, who possessed great personal attractions, which were perhaps heightened by a handsome uniform, it made an indelible impression upon his mind. It is very probable also that his father may have frequently, in after-times, recalled the matter to his memory; and the explanation which must have been given as soon as he could understand it, that grapes were called *raisins* in French, must have given additional force to the remembrance. His father, whether for the sake of experiment, or with the hope of strengthening the memory by giving it the earliest fixed date, pursued this course with others of his children; calling their attention to the earliest subject suitable to make an impression, and then, from time to time afterwards, bringing back the scene to them, and fixing it in their minds by vivid description and action, which he doubtless had a remarkable power of doing. Thus, in the total eclipse of 1806, a child, not two years old, was taken in his father's arms to the top of the house, where he spread out his arms, and uttered, after his father, the words "all dark." The scene was frequently repeated to the child, and his action and words imitated; and it was further fixed in his mind by anecdotes of the dark day in Boston and its neighborhood in 1780, when the cows came home at mid-day from pasture, and the fowls went to roost. In those days, it is to be recollected, cows were sent

to pasture on Boston Common, and most gentlemen had barns and yards large enough to keep poultry. The scene thus impressed was never forgotten, and would present itself in after-life in colors more vivid than those of any recent events.

His earliest recollections were always associated with the incident above mentioned, and with the gentleman with whom it was connected. At this period, and in this house, he also mentions his remembrance of rolling marbles on a painted canvas carpet with Dr. Eustis, afterward Governor Eustis, who was then about twenty-five years of age.

From Avery Street, Dr. John Warren removed to Sudbury Street, and thence to School Street in 1785, where he resided for the rest of his life.

When John was about five years of age, he went to Master Vinal's reading and writing school in West Street. After the family removed to School Street, he was sent to the Public Latin School (Master Hunt's), which he entered at the age of eight years, going at mid-day for an hour to Master Carter to learn writing and arithmetic. He continued to attend here for seven years, during which time he states that he read a good deal. The "Spectator" he knew thoroughly, and thinks it had a very favorable effect on his habits of thinking. His father had a set of the "History of Rome," in six folio volumes, translated from the French of Catron and Rouillé. It was full of plates of battles and sieges, and was always a source of inexhaustible entertainment to the younger members of

the family. From this history he conceived a taste for war, which continued through life. Knox's "Winter Evenings" was also a standard work in his father's library, which he read with pleasure and advantage. Not the least of the great changes of manner between that day and this is that of reading. Now we are inundated with books, which succeed each other with railroad speed, and which all who profess a taste for literature are supposed to read. Fifty or sixty years ago, comparatively few books were published in this country. Private libraries were supplied with English editions; and standard works, such as the "Spectator," the "Rambler," Shakspeare, Thomson's "Seasons," Milton, and Knox's "Winter Evenings," were read and re-read as leisure served. It was a great treat to John, when, in his thirteenth year, his father permitted him to go to a book-auction of new books, and make some purchases. Knox's work, and probably several of the other books above mentioned, were among those purchased.

Soon after his entrance into the Latin School, he attained the head of his class, and kept it to the end of the seven years which he passed there, except at one period, when a boy of the name of Samuel Howard, from the North Square, came to the school. With him he had a long contest, each being alternately at the head of the class. Notwithstanding this rivalry, they were great friends, and played together. At length Howard left school, and John

remained in undisturbed possession of the first place; and Howard, who Dr. Jenks says was unqestionably the best scholar in the class, became a merchant in Georgia, and died there.

The time spent at the Latin School, except during the period of his rivalry with Howard, which was a continual source of excitement and uneasiness, he refers to as the most agreeable portion of his life. He had got settled in his place: he says he studied tolerably, and rode on horseback to his father's farm at Jamaica Plain two or three times a week. Though always delicate, he had no severe illness.

Those whose recollections go back to the time of his entrance into the Latin School describe him as remarkable for his scrupulous neatness of person, and for his love of order as shown in the arrangement of his room, his library, and his clothes. He was also distinguished, as a child, for a high tone of moral feeling; but was cold, reserved, and silent, even at that age. Beneath this reserve or shyness, however, was concealed a temperament warm and excitable. His disposition was affectionate; and his mother often mentioned the devoted and patient attention which he displayed in watching by her bedside during an illness, when he was nine years of age. His constitution was naturally feeble; and this probably rendered him less inclined than other boys to active pursuits.

He had a strong natural love of music, and could easily catch a tune upon once hearing it. In his

biographical notes, he states that he perfectly retains, after the lapse of fifty years, the air of a tune which he had learnt in Paris from one of Napoleon's officers, with whom he boarded.

At the first distribution of the Franklin Medals, in 1792, his name stood at the head of the list. Upon leaving school for Harvard College, in 1793, he delivered, as head scholar, a "Valedictory Address" before the "Venerable Fathers" of the town.

This address, a copy of which is extant, partly in his handwriting, consists in a laudation of public-school education, and in grave advice to those who were to remain in the school, to avail themselves to the utmost of the advantage they enjoyed. This mode of instruction, he says, "tends to an universal diffusion of information through all ranks and conditions of men, and to disseminate among the rising generation those principles which must produce the most happy effects upon society at large. A mode of education which shall confine the means of inquiry to a few, and those the children of the wealthy only, will necessarily give them a superiority over those of the poor. Even with respect to bodily strength, which is often greater in children of the lower class, from their being prepossessed with an idea of general inferiority, they suffer those powers which nature gave them for their defence to lie useless and unimproved. A mean, cowardly spirit is thus generated in childhood; and those ideas, which, from early life, we have by association been used to entertain

in connection, it will be difficult ever after to separate."

As the address is short, the whole might be given; but, as the scholars were not required to write the addresses they delivered, there is some doubt whether this was composed by himself or for him. The quotation is not, therefore, given as a specimen of his composition, but as what he actually delivered. The Rev. Dr. Jenks, his classmate both at school and college, from whom the manuscript, and the information connected with it, was received, states that, on this same occasion, he himself pronounced an oration prepared for him by the late Rev. Dr. Freeman, also in praise of public-school education.

In his fifteenth year, he left the Latin School for Harvard College. He had a room on the lower floor of "Massachusetts;" and, for chum, J., — an excellent person, he says, but disposed to amusement rather than study; though, in the third year, he reformed, and became very steady and attentive. One morning, on awaking, John found the floor of the room covered by an immense five-bar gate, which J. and his friends had, in a frolic, brought from a gentleman's residence. Before he was fully aware of it, Peter, the kitchen-man, entered, and discovered the gate. They knew that he would give information; and that, if the gate was officially found there, the punishment would be severe. J. was alarmed, and went off to Boston. Warren consulted Gorham, afterwards Hon. B. Gorham, who was then in the

junior class. They agreed to cut up the gate, and carry it piecemeal into the cellar. Soon after this was done, the tutors came round to search; but, not discovering any traces of the gate in the rooms, nobody was punished; though they must have known where the gate had been deposited.

He received some prizes in college, and his class gave him the Latin Valedictory. He found college-life very pleasant.

His two surviving classmates (Judge White, of Salem, and the Rev. Dr. Jenks) testify to his honorable standing with his class at Cambridge, both as a scholar and a gentleman. The latter says, "Indeed, the rank obtained in the community by his uncle, and not only sustained, but increased, by his beloved and lamented father, and of which he was never unmindful, constantly bore him up. Of the Warren family, I know we used to talk when schoolboys."

The deep-seated principles of religion, and reverence for sacred things, as well as firm moral principles, which were possessed and inculcated by Dr. John Warren, were never more needed than they were at this time.

An interesting account of the state of college, at this period, has been given by the Rev. Dr. Channing, who was in the class after, and by Judge White, who was in the same class with him. The doctrines of the French Revolution were universally prevailing; "spreading its disastrous influence," says Judge White, "throughout the civilized world, and pouring

upon our country a flood of infidel and licentious principles. Our colleges could not escape the contagion of these principles; and I have no doubt that to these, and the pernicious books embodying them, much of the disorderly conduct, and most of the infidel and irreligious spirit, which prevailed at that period among the students of Cambridge, may justly be attributed."

Dr. Channing says, "College was never in a worse state." — "The system of government and instruction went on much as it had done years before; and the result was a state of great insubordination, and the almost total absence of the respect due to individuals of so much worth" as the members of the government and the teachers. "The state of morals among the students was any thing but good."

Though Warren never loved study for itself (for he has borne ample testimony to the contrary), and though he never acquired fixed habits of application, he imbibed none of the contagion of evil principles described above. He acquired, however, such a knowledge of the languages as was useful to him in after-life, and devoted much time to reading.

Mr. Warren graduated in 1797. He did not immediately commence the study of a profession. It was his father's wish that he should not enter one which he himself had found so laborious, and in many respects so anxious and harassing, as his own; but that he should engage in the more immediately lucrative pursuits of the merchant. In order, there-

fore, to prepare himself for that or for any other occupation, he devoted one year after leaving college to the study of the French language with Mr. Sales, who was afterwards, for nearly forty years, the well-known teacher of the French and Spanish languages in Harvard College.

During this year and the next, he had ample opportunity for cultivating social intercourse, and of observing the manners of the time. It is to be recollected, that the large influx of French gentlemen of rank and birth, whom their king had permitted to follow their generous inclination to serve in the cause of liberty, had already imparted the polished manners of that court, which has always given laws in the world of fashion. The severity of Puritan manners had yielded in some degree to this softening influence; and few traces of the stern republican could have been found in that society into which Mr. Warren now entered. In his biographical notes, he has given us an account of the manners which prevailed at the time referred to. It is here given in his own words.

CHAPTER II.

CHANGE OF MANNERS.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

At the period when I left college, and became an inhabitant of Boston, it was thought necessary to undergo the operation of a barber half an hour every day. This was performed in a barber's shop, where there were a number of other persons waiting; and, of course, the average time lost in this way was little short of an hour, besides the horrid consequences of being obliged to carry on one's head a quantity of curls, flour, pomatum, and a long cue or a heavy club.

This practice was broken up by the French Sans-culottes, who were the first to cut the hair close, and thus to get rid of these uncomfortable paraphernalia. The dress, at that time, was a colored coat; metal buttons, usually yellow; colored and figured waistcoat; short breeches, buttoning at the knees; long boots, with white tops; and, when riding on horseback, a pair of leather breeches, instead of pantaloons of drab cloth. These leather breeches were daily cleaned with yellow clay, which required that the coat should never be brought in contact with them. Then a shirt, ruffled at the breast and about the wrists; a white cravat, filled in with what was called a pudding, the use of which, from the effect of habit, could not be dispensed with for some years. Cocked hats were very much worn at that

time, but not by the young: and gentlemen of a certain age wore wigs, which were sent to the barbers once a week to be fresh dressed; so that, on Saturday night, we saw the barbers' boys carrying home immense piles of wig-boxes, as a preparation for going to church on Sunday. The arrangement of dress for a party required a total change, — white small-clothes, silk stockings, pumps, and a colored or white waistcoat.

Physicians who had much business, in those days, rode on horseback. Riding in a chaise was very rare, and in a four-wheeled carriage still more so. My father rode on horseback till within a few years before his death. He rode with great rapidity, and never stopped for any thing till he reached his destination. Within a few years of his death, he used a chaise, with a powerful horse, and drove with the utmost possible speed, avoiding with great adroitness all obstacles. He never had any attendant except in the winter, when he indulged in a good booby-hut, with a pair of horses driven by a black servant. A succession of these servants he obtained from my grandfather's estate in Rhode Island. The last of these, whose name was Cuff, or Cuff Collins, died about the year 1848, in Rhode Island, at the place of his birth, receiving a pension which made him comfortable in his old age.

Dr. Lloyd generally drove a very fine horse; and Drs. Jarvis and Whipple were famous for beautiful saddle-horses, and the elegance with which they rode. The saddle-horses were tied in the streets; but, when in harness, they were accustomed to stand without being tied. The streets in that day were very irregular, being partly paved and partly gravelled. The sidewalks were paved with round stones, without curb-stones; and the sideways were guarded by rows of posts, which were very convenient for the hitch-

ing of horses. Ladies were more rarely seen in the street than now, except in the evenings, when they walked to parties, attended by their gentleman or by a servant; but, in great balls and assemblies, they endeavored to obtain a hackney-coach, though the number of these was very small.

There was, at that time, but one market-place in town; and my father was in the habit of going to market, notwithstanding his great business, two or three times a week. But there were provision-carts, which carried supplies to every door.

Large parties opened at seven or eight o'clock in the evening, and were much more formal than at present. A regular introduction to the master and mistress of the house was indispensable on the part of every guest; and many compliments and kind inquiries were interchanged. Dances were usually, at the opening of the ball or assembly, one or two minuets. A friend of mine told me, a short time since, that he saw me dance a minuet in 1806, or thereabouts; and that this was the last time he had witnessed this dance in Boston. After the minuets, contra dances and cotillons were in fashion. There were rarely suppers; but refreshments were commonly handed round: and, when suppers were given, the whole party sat down, not all at one time, but usually at two different periods.

Parties were very long; and much wine and punch were consumed at them to help to wear away the time. What was most striking in these parties, compared with those of the present day, was the great politeness with which individuals were accustomed to treat each other: so that it was much more common to dispute precedence in favor of their friends than of themselves; and persons of a certain age were treated with a degree of deference now wholly disused. In fact, one of the great traits in the manners of the pre-

sent day is the want of respect with which young persons are accustomed to treat those older than themselves. This change of manners is partly, or principally perhaps, to be attributed to the French Revolution; which, while it has swept away many useless and inconvenient ceremonies, has, to a certain extent, destroyed that refined delicacy of conduct which characterized the preceding century.

Dinner-parties were more common then, and especially lady dinner-parties. The latter were very agreeable. The ladies all retired at a certain time; while the gentlemen remained in session long after. Gentlemen dinner-parties began early, and ended late. They were preceded by a heavy draught of punch, and attended with such free potations of strong wines as would shock the more delicate drinkers of the present day. The great care on the part of the host was to present to the guests as much ordinary wine as they could be made to drink, and then to bring forward, in succession, a variety of old wines, each having a character a little better than that which preceded. All of these had some remarkable history connected with them; the detail and discussion of which constituted an important part of social conversation.

The drinking of healths was carried to a great excess. The master of the house, if particularly hospitable, felt himself bound to notice each guest, however distant he might be, and however numerous the company. Then there was a series of toasts, beginning, in this country, with "The President of the United States," followed by "The Ladies;" while, in England, "The King" was followed by "The Church," then members of the royal family, then favorite lords and ladies: and these proceedings were occasionally varied with a song. The want of voice was no apology; and I judged, from the manner in which these songs were

executed, that a sort of education had been undergone for this purpose. Sometimes, though rarely, an absolute refusal was given; and, in this case, the individual might redeem his character by telling a story. If he could not do this, he was compelled to extra potations. On the whole, the dinner-parties of those times must be looked on with disgust: for not only was the quantity of wine sufficient to make irreparable inroads on the physical organization, but these potations led to the greatest extravagance of language and thought; and the conversation at a dinner-party, if taken down by a stenographer, and presented to the party on the morning following, would have filled them with shame and regret. Happily, the times have changed; and the Temperance revolution, if it has not carried purity and health into the social dinner-party, has, to a certain extent, abated the intolerable nuisance inflicted on our forefathers.

Custom has also abolished the general and pernicious habit of a morning draught of flip or other stimulant; for I remember well the time, when grave gentlemen, and even clergymen, made a diurnal visit to particular friends or particular taverns, where hot punch, porter, brandy and water, bread and cheese, were employed to help consultation on the topics of the day. It may readily be imagined, that a conversation under such circumstances was not likely to be brief, and that no small part of the morning was wasted in this relaxation.

Time was, in fact, not very important to most men at that period. From the peace of '83 until near the beginning of the present century, very little business was done in Boston. About half a dozen merchants were sufficient to carry on the greater part of the foreign trade; and the rest were condemned to a small business, which did not fill up their vacant hours. Of course, there was much time to be

occupied in eating, drinking, and card-playing. The pursuit of science, and scientific reading, were little thought of till about the year 1800. Although there were, in fact, some societies formed with very good objects, they were not followed up with any degree of activity.

About that time, various new associations began to be formed: and I was particularly engaged in a Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy, in 1802; another, of a somewhat social character, in 1804; the Anthology Club, in 1804; and others of greater or less importance. When business increased, and science began to flourish, the attention of our educated people was directed to new objects, and time began to be considered important. Physicians set the example in this way. They demanded of each other, that no one should encroach on the time of his professional brother by a want of punctuality. Five minutes was allowed for inevitable impediments; and, beyond that time, no one considered himself bound to waste his time in awaiting his dilatory colleague. They thus falsified the opinion once very strongly expressed to me by the celebrated Dr. Lettsom, of London, that he never knew an American who understood the value of five minutes. The times have altered, however, since Dr. Lettsom lived; and now, perhaps, there are, in consequence of the industrious occupation of most individuals, few people more exact in their engagements than our countrymen. The great head of our republic set them an example on this point of morality. I remember (and, I dare say, other persons living also remember), that when he was in Boston, in the year 1789, he appointed Colonel Hitchborne to rendezvous at his residence, corner of Court and Tremont Street, with his troop of dragoons, at eight, A.M. Precisely at eight, General Washington was seen issuing from the street-door; and, although the troop of horse had appeared,

he, with his aids, mounted in a moment, and set off on their route at a brisk trot. Colonel H., arriving at the house afterwards, found that President Washington had left Boston without an escort; and he was obliged to pursue for some time at a gallop, before he succeeded in overtaking him.

My father was so very much occupied in professional business, giving lectures, attending societies, &c., that punctuality and method were indispensable to the accomplishment of these numerous objects. I therefore learned very early to apportion out my time for definite objects; and pursuing the plan thus laid out, in a faithful and exact manner, formed a habit of occupation which enabled me to accomplish with ease what without it would have been burdensome, and compelled me to fly from indolence and repose by something like an instinctive movement. For the same reason, I have been led to avoid all those amusements which are resorted to merely to pass away time, without contributing any thing to the stock of intellectual, moral, or physical improvement.

While I thus seem to be extolling myself for these important advantages, I mean, in fact, to express my thankfulness to Providence for their enjoyment; and, under Providence, to my father and mother for training me in these habits. But I know individuals living at this time, who have been more industrious, more punctual, and more efficient, than I have: and I may venture to notice here the names of two such persons; namely, Dr. James Jackson and President Everett. I never knew either of these gentlemen fail to fulfil an appointment with exactness; and I do know that they occupy, and have through life occupied, the whole of their time in such a way as to accomplish the great objects of life in the most perfect manner.

The relations between professional (that is, medical) men in this place, both in former and present times, have been

with some exceptions, highly commendable. Their intercourse with each other, between young and old, between learned and unlearned, is generally characterized by politeness, great care in avoiding every thing which might lead to an unfavorable opinion of the practice of another, and an equal caution not to attempt to divert the confidence of the patient from another to himself. The physicians of Boston, in the year 1806, at the instance of Dr. Jackson and myself, adopted a code of medical ethics which has since governed, or at least influenced, their conduct towards each other in the happiest manner; and though the profession here, as everywhere else, has not been wholly free from heart-burnings, jealousies, and a certain kind of intrigues, there is, perhaps, nowhere a higher degree of professional honor and mutual respect.

The physicians of the old time had the reputation of being sceptical, both in this country and in Europe. They rarely went to church; though that was not the fact in regard to those with whom I was best acquainted. Of late years, there has been a favorable change; and many physicians, in this country and in Europe, have distinguished themselves by a thorough examination of the subject of religion, and by the publication of powerful arguments in favor of a religious faith. The general attendance on churches was, however, more exact than it is now; for it was rare for any respectable family to be absent from church the whole Sunday. The Sundays were much better observed than they are now; the town was more tranquil; there was less driving, talking, smoking, in the streets, until about fifteen years ago; when a certain individual, whose name would disgrace the page on which it was written, called together young, thoughtless people, on Sundays; set them to dancing, singing, and committing all such practices as he thought best calculated to

desecrate the day. Since that time, there has been a decided alteration in the aspect of the Boston streets on Sunday. While, however, these facts are undoubted, religion was less attended to than it is now; that is, there was less study of it by a certain part of the population. There was a total want of Sunday schools, and of religious meetings on any days but Sundays. A Bible was rarely seen in a fashionable house; and, I recollect very distinctly, the first exception which I witnessed occurred in the family of a very beautiful and accomplished lady. Some years after, this lady was taken ill of a fatal sickness; and when, in conversing with her on religious subjects, I mentioned this fact, she seemed much gratified, and said that it had been the practice of her youth to prepare her mind for a change from this world to another, under the conviction that she could never do it properly while in a sick-chamber.

As there were comparatively few poor, there were few of those institutions which draw forth the best feelings of mankind; and that wonderful liberality and benevolence, which has of late years characterized the city of Boston, was unknown.

On looking back, therefore, we find great reason to be satisfied with the condition of society in which we live. There are, indeed, many more poor, and there is more vice: but, on the other side, we see a wonderful growth and expansion of all the high qualities which lead man to relieve his fellow-beings; to cultivate the useful arts and sciences; and, with unceasing activity, to promote that state of character which leads him to seek and look forward to a better existence.

CHAPTER III.

CHOICE OF THE MEDICAL PROFESSION. — DEPARTURE FOR EUROPE.

THE troubled state of Europe at this time, when England and France were in fierce contest (the English fleets sweeping the seas; and the French armies, headed by Citizen Bonaparte, carrying all before them by land), had nearly annihilated commerce. Dr. John Warren found it impossible to obtain such a situation in a counting-room as he thought entirely suitable for his son; and John was, therefore, left to pursue the preference which he felt for a profession. At the end of the year after he left college, he commenced the study of medicine with his father; choosing this profession, after mature deliberation, because he considered it the most useful.

He does not appear to have had much bias to medical pursuits; and his introduction to the study was not, perhaps, the most agreeable. There was no hospital in Boston at this time; nor, strictly speaking, any medical school. It was the custom of the time for physicians to dispense their own prescriptions, which were prepared by the pupils at the physician's house. The pupil, though not precisely an apprentice, was required to perform all the duty of one.

Some disgust at this sort of life, together with other causes, may have stimulated the strong desire which Mr. Warren felt to visit Europe, and avail himself of the advantages afforded by foreign medical schools and hospitals. After one year spent in the study of medicine at home, he embarked for London, June, 1799, and arrived there in twenty-four days.

It was an interesting period in the history of the world. The American Revolution had been accomplished. The King and Queen of France, who had yielded to the course of freedom so far as to permit their subjects to aid in the war of revolution, had been dethroned and beheaded. The French Directory were in power; and, elated by the brilliant successes of their army and their general, were insolent and overbearing to the country they had assisted. England still claimed her right as sovereign of the seas, and prosecuted her claim of search in regard to neutrals; a claim which, of course, was exercised civilly or tyrannically, according to the disposition of the captain of the ship. The French republic had no disposition to be behind; and, probably presuming upon past services, treated her sister republic with insolence. Upon remonstrance being made, she required from America a sum of money to assist her in the war with England, as compensation for her redress of injuries or future forbearance. A war ensued, which, by the testimony even of Las Casas (or Lavoisne), was brought on by the vexatious and insolent conduct of the French. Its duration was so short,

that it seems almost to have been forgotten in history amid the greater events which were daily passing.

It was during this war that Mr. Warren sailed for Europe. His passage, though of longer duration than in these days, had more objects of interest. It could not have been possible, at that exciting period, for the nephew of General Warren, and the son of one of the most ardent and disinterested patriots who ever lived, to behold public events with indifference. He had previously evinced a deep interest in politics; and, on the breaking-out of the French war, took an active part in military affairs, and in the organization of companies. On board ship, his warlike inclinations found full scope, and must have agreeably interrupted the dulness incident to a sea-voyage in more quiet times. As his letters to his father and family describe his voyage and subsequent progress with so much more freshness than any subsequent relation could do, it seems proper to introduce some of them here, even at the risk of repetition. The acute reader will find in them a truer picture of his views, feelings, and character, at that time, than could be displayed elsewhere.

His first letters express much anxiety in regard to the yellow fever, which had prevailed in Boston the previous year; sweeping off, as he says, friends, neighbors, and classmates.

These first letters show that the opinion held at that time, in Boston, of England, was very much such as travellers, in after-times, give of Italy; and that he

had been warned, much in the same manner as Americans now are in regard to the latter country, against imposition, knavery, robbery, and murder. He wisely determined it was best to make himself easy upon that head; and he states that he has not found such a state of things as he had been warned against. The English, on the other hand, believed that Americans were devoted, soul and body, to trade and profit; and that they were willing to submit to any insult, rather than suffer interruption in these matters.

It may almost be said of England at that time, and probably for ages before, if not from the time of her very birth as a nation, that her normal state was a state of war. War, with all its evils, calls forth noble sentiments of patriotism, unselfishness, and disregard to gain. There can be little doubt, that, at that period, England, plunged in wars from which she derived no profit, but incurred vast pecuniary loss, might make the reproach without fear of retort. A long peace has now produced a different state of things; and that nation is now as thrifty, and devoted to gain, as are her brethren on the other side of the Atlantic.

LONDON, 27th July, 1799.

DEAR FATHER, — Although in a few days I shall have a much better opportunity of writing to you, yet I cannot omit sending a few lines by the first ship to inform you of our safe arrival. Our passage was short and pleasant, without any thing more than the common occurrences of a sea-voyage, except frequent alarms from the appearances of ships which we met. The few things worth noticing, I have

minuted; and, though they are of very little consequence, will send them with my next letters. On the twenty-second day we landed at Deal, and, after a pleasant journey of two days, entered London. The smoke, crowds, noise, and bustle of this immense town prevented my thoughts from flowing in any sort of regularity for some days. As soon as I could see around me, I sought lodgings; which I succeeded in getting in a pleasant part of the town, where a number of Americans lodge. Perhaps you knew Mr. Harrison Gray, formerly of Boston. The house is kept by his brother. I shall not be able, however, to remain long here, as it is not a place very convenient for attending the hospitals; and the price of two guineas a week for boarding and lodging, although I am told it is low here, and believe not more than is given at Boston, yet is higher than I can well afford. I have now been ten days in London, and have become very much familiarized to it. I have found that there is no necessity for acting as if the people were all cheats and thieves. I have passed the streets, by day and by night, without being robbed, murdered, insulted, or injured in any way. It is true that a great degree of circumspection is absolutely necessary, particularly in money matters. A man must be very prudent, or money will glide from him in a most astonishing and unaccountable manner. There are, in truth, many temptations, which it requires a high degree of caution to avoid. But it is likewise certain, that travellers have told us amusing stories, which are barely founded on fact. I have received many attentions here, particularly from Mr. Cabot and Mr. Gore; and I have become very much acquainted with the latter. As to my medical arrangements, I have done almost nothing yet; for you will easily perceive that it must require a little time to become easy and at home in London. I have been

advised, for the most part, not to go to Edinburgh. Respecting that, I shall not determine at present, but shall pass the ensuing winter in attending the hospitals and lectures. I shall probably be able to write much more fully on that and some other subjects in a short time. Your letter reached me in five days after I came here; and nothing could have made me happier, had not my satisfaction been damped by the contents. I hope, however, nothing serious will happen from Harriet's accident. I hope you will write to me by every opportunity; as, among strangers, every thing from home is particularly dear to me. Please to give my love to my mother, to my brothers and sisters, and to any friends who may inquire for me.

Your affectionate son,

J. C. Warren.

London, Aug. 19, 1799.

Dear Father, — Three weeks since, I wrote to you by the "Merchant;" but, on account of the embargo laid the day after my writing, that ship has not yet sailed. You will, therefore, probably receive the former letter and this at the same time. I then mentioned that our voyage was pleasant, but uninteresting. Our employments on board ship were principally of a warlike nature; and we became so expert in the exercise of the great guns, that the oldest seaman in the ship could not outdo us. One night, the captain, determined to try our alacrity, and presence of mind, ordered the mate and boatswain to call all hands to quarters at midnight, when we were buried in profound sleep. In five minutes we were all at our stations, and had every gun prepared for action. We cried to the captain to point out the enemy, that we might fire; and were not unpleasantly disappointed at hearing it was merely an experiment. So, after all hands

had a drink of grog, we retired quietly to our berths. In the British Channel we were often alarmed, and were obliged every night to sleep in our clothes. A terrible fog caused us to run close upon the French coast; for nothing could be seen till within pistol-shot. After chasing a privateer, quarrelling furiously with one British cruiser, and receiving polite treatment from some others, we landed at Deal on 10th July. I was impressed with a kind of pleasing solemnity, when I touched the land of our forefathers, while I recollected how many important events had been transacted there; how many heroes, statesmen, and philosophers had there displayed their greatness; and how important a part in the theatre of the world was at that moment filled by this little island. The town of Deal is a small, ill-built place, with nothing remarkable but three strong castles for the defence of the seacoast. The people are, in every respect, extremely civil to strangers. On the day following our arrival, there was to be a review of a beautiful regiment by Prince William of Gloucester. While we were deliberating in what manner we could see it, an officer entered, and requested our company at his chamber, where we might have a full view of the troops. We accepted the invitation; and after being highly delighted with the appearance of the troops, and receiving the greatest attention, as we were departing, the lady of the commander of one of the castles asked us to call on her the next day, and view the inside of the castle. Here, too, we were highly gratified by the novelty of the thing, and the urbanity of the people to strangers whom they never before saw, and from whom they could expect no return for their politeness. Dover Castle being an object of curiosity to strangers, we, on the next day, rode to that place. Shakspeare alone can describe the stupendous cliffs of Dover. My brain turns at the very idea. The

prospect from the top of the cliffs is grand. On one side, the ocean, unbounded, and covered with a vast variety of vessels passing to all parts of the world; on the other, a most delightful country, diversified by gentle risings and depressions, enriched with the most luxuriant verdure; at our feet, the town of Dover; and, towering over our heads, the celebrated Castle. We saw the beach where Cæsar landed, and that where Charles II. was received at the restoration. Calais is so plainly discoverable, that many houses upon the coast may be distinguished. Our journey to London through this charming country was highly pleasant. Something interesting was constantly presented, — a Gothic church or monument of Saxon antiquity. At Canterbury is standing a tower of Ethelred; the remains of a monastery founded by St. Augustine; but, above all, its famous Cathedral, built about a thousand years ago. On entering, one is struck with awe. The long Gothic aisles and high arches, the windows painted in the ancient manner, with the sufferings of saints, conspired, with the coldness of the place, to chill us with solemnity. Here are monuments of some of the English kings; particularly a fine one, in brass, of the Black Prince. The armor in which he gained the battle of Poictiers, though crumbling to pieces, is still to be seen. The silver shrine of Thomas à Becket stood in this church till the time of Henry VIII.; and the pavement around is actually worn away by the knees of pilgrims. About the middle of July, we entered London; and, in a place where people from all parts of the world reside, one soon becomes familiarized. The English manners, though much like ours in many respects, are still more different than I expected to find them. I can, however, accommodate myself much more easily to their manners than to their climate. The sun seldom deigns to show

himself for more than two hours at a time; and, in the first three weeks after our arrival, but one day passed without rain. August has been as cold as, and I think very like, our April. I can now with perfect ease account for the prevalence of suicide in England. I have passed this month in seeing the wonders which it is necessary to know something of, in delivering my letters and receiving the consequences, and in gaining the information requisite for the arrangement of my plans. I have been universally advised to attend the hospitals, in the first place, whether I go to Edinburgh or not; and have determined to do that next week. There are two kinds of students in the hospitals; the one called "dressers," and the other "walkers." The first have the advantage of practising on all the simple surgical cases, and dressing all wounds themselves: the others merely see what is done. Of course, the former have vastly the greatest opportunities: but the expense is likewise double; as the walker pays £25, the dresser £50. Though I do not like to pay so much money for one object, I believe I shall enter as dresser; for, as I intend to become a surgeon, I think the acquiring a facility and steadiness in manual operation of the utmost importance. There are good lectures on almost all branches distinct from the hospitals. Every moment of time which can be spared from surgery and dissections, I shall devote to them; and, if I can acquire a satisfactory degree of medical knowledge from them, I shall not choose to incur the expense of going to Edinburgh: if not, a question will arise which is to be decided in future. It will be necessary, when I have entered the hospitals, to give up every idea of amusement and company; for a student who is tolerably disposed to be industrious will find every moment of his time fully occupied. I could give you a sketch of affairs in Europe; but you will be probably quite as soon, and much more fully, informed by

the gazettes. Suwarrow, after taking Mantua, is marching to Genoa. Massena is to be succeeded by Moreau, in the command of the army opposed to the Archduke. This army is now at Zurich; and accounts of a battle are every moment expected. France does not now, as formerly, vomit flames upon all her neighbors: but she is dreadfully convulsed within; and whether she will be strong enough to withstand the shocks by which she is shaken, must be very shortly determined. Insurrection is the order of the day. Small parties of troops, which some call Royalists, and others Jacobins, appear all over the nation. One party cries, "Down with the Royalists!" another, "Down with the Jacobins!" The new Directory has just gained an important victory in shutting up the Jacobin Club. How long they will be able to prevent its meetings is very uncertain. France and England are using every effort to engage the King of Prussia. A misunderstanding between the Danish and the Russians is increasing. The King of Denmark seems disposed to quarrel, and is probably backed in secret by the Prussians. The English have formed great hopes of their expedition to liberate Holland: that is, to re-instate the stadtholder. I doubt whether the Dutchmen will receive them with the cordiality they expect. The lower-class Dutch are still fond of the Sans-culottes, who have been squeezing them so affectionately. But the richer people will never allow their patriotism to expose their property. The combined fleets are at Brest, and will probably very soon attempt the liberation of the Dutch from the Texel. The effects of their success cannot be calculated. Bonaparte, having been sufficiently amused with his trip to Egypt, is now attempting a return to France. The Turks, however, have so exceedingly strong a desire to see the terrific hero who made Europe tremble under his sword, that he will

most probably see Constantinople, before Paris. *Europe is drenched in blood.* Even in this country, the painful effects of war are everywhere seen.

LONDON, Dec. 8, 1799.

MY DEAR FATHER, — In a letter (No. 7) by the way of Liverpool, I had the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your last (No. 4) by the "Thomas Russell;" since which, I have not received any thing. I could but little express the pleasure I felt at once more hearing from my family; at again conversing with my father; and I should do myself very small justice by attempting it now. No one, living in the midst of friends, surrounded by those who are attached to him, is a judge of the value of that attachment: 'tis for him only, who is far removed from any who love him, to estimate the worth of a family, and to know his affection for them. I am that one. In that letter, I gave you a summary of the reasons that determined me to remain here. I mentioned my ideas of the value of anatomical and surgical knowledge, and the incomparable advantages in this place for the study and practice of those arts, and of midwifery and physiology; such as, taken together, are not to be found elsewhere. I mentioned that Edinburgh was to be preferred in what respected medicine, but that advantages of that nature were secondary, because they may be had at home, while the first cannot; that I did not consider chemistry of comparative importance. To speak truth, this has been played the fool with in a wonderful manner. At one time, we were explaining every thing on chemical principles: hydrogen and oxygen, azote and carbon, were stuck to every thing. Every stripling in medicine could learn the nomenclature; and then, blazing forth these new and unusual terms, astonished the ignorant and confused the learned.

This did well for a time. But at length these men were questioned. They could not sustain their principles throughout; and it was discovered that names alone had deceived: *Nomina, et præterea nihil.* Chemistry now sunk to its place. In America, it still occupies too high a rank; but this will not exist long. I do not mean to cast the slightest reflection on the new nomenclature, nor on chemistry itself: I hope to be well versed in them both, and to know how to apply them properly. Once, I remember, you asked whether I intended to become a surgeon. The question remains unanswered. At that time, I had seen enough to have an idea of the difficulties of an operation, but none of its pleasures: now I see a good operation with the pleasure I used to feel at the successful solution of Euclid's problems, — a pleasure greater than almost any I know. I have acquired that taste, that high relish, for these, without which no man can exert himself for the attainment of any art; and am only surprised that I was so long blind. There are operations almost every day, — the stone, hydrocele, cataract, and amputations innumerable; but Mr. Cline's operations for aneurism or hernia are grand. It is pleasure to see him take up or turn his knife. There are some observations respecting these matters which I have not now sufficient time to communicate, but shall take the first opportunity. The lectures have gratified me very much: they have such immense advantages from the preparations. Not a part but is elegantly prepared; some injected with quicksilver, some with wax; dried and wet. Every morbid appearance is here preserved. You well know how much clearer an idea is conveyed by these specimens than can be done by a dead, flaccid body. If I had time, I should make many myself; but I despair of doing a quarter of what I wish, here. Dissection is carried on in style: twelve or fifteen bodies in a

room; the young men at work on them in different ways. The people called resurrection-men supply us abundantly. An odd circumstance happened some time since. A hungry beggar had got some bread, and ate with so much avidity as to suffocate himself and fall down in the street. One of the resurrection-men, passing, immediately claimed the man as his brother, took him to the dissecting theatre of St. Thomas, and secured a good price. The man's trachea is now made into a preparation. The surgeons here, considering themselves at the head of their profession, dare to differ from everybody else, if they think they have truth with them. No authority is believed sufficient to prevent inquiry: thus, much of the rubbish left by Haller is cleared away, and even some of his own works overturned. A new theory of generation is brought forward; but what is infinitely more important than the best-wrought theory, are the discoveries respecting the absorbents. Much has been done, and all the able anatomists and physiologists are employed upon the subject. In this and every other research, the people here look for facts: they trust no theory, but experiment is the only creed. Go to Edinburgh for theory! I have much to say on many of these particulars, but must defer it to another time. I receive so much pleasure from the pursuits in which I am absorbed, that I hardly have time to think of my disconnected situation. The acquaintances of a letter of introduction are most of them at an end: and this is, in truth, a fortunate circumstance; for my time is so totally and completely occupied, that I can hardly squeeze out half an hour to inquire if there are any ships for America. You may be astonished to hear of retirement in London; but I live in a more complete solitude than if I were at Castle Hill.* No one comes to see me but Senter; nor do I visit

* His grandfather's (Governor Collins's) farm at Newport.

any one but him, except sometimes on Sundays, — the only day I ever dine out. I form no acquaintances with the young men, that extend further than the walls of the hospital. When the stimulus of company is taken away, I find that nature can be supported with much less than I could have believed. My food is as simple as possible; but contents as well, and preserves my health better, than when I lived richly. On the whole, I do not spend a half-penny that I can help; and there are some books I should like to possess, which I do not think I can afford. Perhaps this may savor too much of egotism: but I suppose you would wish to have some idea of my manner of living; and, besides, I wish to convince you, as far as is proper for me, that the confidence you have testified in me in your last letter is not misplaced. That, however, can only be fully known to you by futurity. It is sufficient that I appreciate the opportunities I enjoy; that I know any useless expense must destroy some of these advantages. If, under these circumstances, I am idle or extravagant, what am I? I have always believed that a young man of spirit would be better with confidence reposed in him, than when shackled by caution. For this reason, when I left my country, I did not seem to listen to the advice everybody was giving me. Perhaps pride was in the case likewise; but I love pride. It has always been of service to me; and I would not relinquish it in the presence of the King of Great Britain, or any other man.

You have no idea, sir, what a shocking place this is in winter. No cold weather, for the grass is perfectly green; but a constant drizzling, that keeps the town dirty as a kennel, notwithstanding all that can be done. The air is thickened with smoke and vapors, so that it is scarcely respirable; and as for the sun, no one can tell when he was seen. The days are five hours long; or, more strictly speaking, there are five hours of twilight: for, while I have been

writing, I have, within this week, been obliged to stop almost every day, at some part of it, so totally dark was it. Many have already cut their throats; and, if the present weather lasts (which it will), a terrible slaughter will take place, I dare say. They have, however, plenty of amusements here: in truth, there is amusement at every step through the streets of London. I constantly meet something new and interesting in this wonderful place. Mrs. Siddons is now playing; but, the theatre being at a great distance, I cannot go there so often as I wish. I have not, therefore, yet seen this celebrated woman; but shall take the first opportunity. I have but this day learnt that a ship sails for Boston to-morrow; and must, therefore, say less than I wished to. I shall, however, soon write again to you, and to some of my friends. Gurley will, I hope, write to me by every opportunity. I cannot refrain from thanking you for the length of your letter, engaged as you are at every moment. Sir, I beg you will spare me as much time as you can. Please to tell my dear mother that her letters are short and sweet; but I cannot think they would be less sweet were they longer. Will none of my brothers or sisters write? It would be useless to enumerate all the friends I would be remembered to. Tell them, I think of them all particularly, and would write to them had I time; but I have already written to more than have returned it, and more than I ever will again. Wish my Aunt Polly joy for me. I am rejoiced that H. is so well recovered from the accident. Give my love to every one of them, and, most of all, to my mother. The "Minerva" is every day expected. After receiving my letters by her, I shall write by a ship to sail at the end of this month.

Most respectfully,

Your affectionate son,

J. C. Warren.

"The information that our family was well, and my native town in a fair way to escape the ravages of the yellow fever, contributed to make me happy. I have been extremely anxious respecting the appearance of that dreadful disorder again. Knowing that you take so few precautions, and that you hazard yourself so much in every case of danger, I with reason dreaded its effects. Should I hear that it has appeared in Boston, I shall a thousand times wish that I had never seen the Atlantic. Rest assured, sir, that my highest happiness consists in thinking of home, and that all the *novel scenes* of England or of all Europe would have no effect in obliterating the remembrance of my friends; nor even would they at all compensate for the absence from my family."

September, 1799. — "I am the luckiest dog in life! I was called away at the end of the last period (i.e., while visiting Netley Abbey with some ladies, and proposing to explore a subterraneous passage) to a dislocated shoulder, which I have reduced in very handsome style. Within the three first days of my week, I have had one fracture, and one injury of the cranium; one fractured leg, and another that we thought was fractured at first; one fracture of the ribs, and this dislocation; besides two or three trifling accidents. I have been exceedingly fortunate every way; and I verily begin to think I shall be famous."

Jan. 24, 1800. — "Rest assured, sir, I am *tolerably* closely employed. I neither eat, drink, nor sleep much: for one sound is singing in my ears; keeps me waking at night, and rouses me in the morning, — '*There is no time to lose.*' My anxiety to return home is very great; but my anxiety to return with proper improvements, with such acquisitions as shall make me respectable in my own and in the eyes of others, and shall raise me a little above the common herd, is much greater than that."

March 12, 1800. — "Bread is so scarce, that an Act has passed for eating old bread instead of new. Pastry is laid aside by the great; and the king eats no bread with his meat. A variety of substitutes for bread are proposed by the schemers. Some say potatoes; others, rice; and some would have bread made of one-third sawdust, finely levigated. You would be immensely diverted to hear all the schemes mentioned.

"The 'Medical Repository' is very well received here. Should you send me one or two copies of each number, I could dispose of them to much advantage; to Drs. Lettsom and Hawes particularly. I should be very glad of the publication respecting the yellow fever, for which you subscribed, if it is yet out; and a spare copy of the letters of our immortal Washington. All these things would be exceedingly acceptable here.

"Last evening, I was at the theatre. The king and his family were there. At such times, the house is always filled; and I underwent more suffering than I would again for all the kings in Christendom. The queen and princesses are all ugly. The princes are handsome men. The house was full of nobility; many of the ladies completely stuck over with jewels. In truth, there are many more jewels than beauties among these noble ladies. The men, however, as well as all the genteeler class of Englishmen, are handsome. Both men and women walk better, and have generally a more elegant air, than in America."

June 8, 1800. — "Nobody here believes that the Bourbons *will* reign again in France. Travellers, who passed through France at different periods, say that, in spite of war, the French never were so happy, since they existed as a nation, as they are at present. Bonaparte, possessed of dictatorial power, exercises it with the highest wisdom and moderation."

July 9, 1800. — "Mr. William Cooper, my old master, is succeeded by his nephew, Mr. Astley Cooper, as lecturer; a young man of the greatest natural abilities, and almost adored at the hospitals. His practice is directly the reverse of his uncle's. Old Mr. Cooper would say, 'Let Nature alone: she will open that abscess infinitely better than you can.' The other says, 'Had you dilated that abscess from top to bottom at first, it would have been well long ago.' The obligations I am under to Mr. Cooper are infinite. He has always treated me with the most particular attention, and suffered no opportunity of instructing me to pass by. I wish it were possible to return, in the smallest degree, the favors with which he has loaded me.

"Mr. Sheridan made a bold and furious attack on Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons. I had the good fortune to hear this animated debate. Mr. S. charged Pitt with deception, and inability to conduct public affairs. He spoke in the most exalted terms of Bonaparte; and said, that, setting aside the manner in which he had acquired power, he had acted with singular virtue, moderation, and magnanimity; that his military talents had not been paralleled since the days of Hannibal. Mr. Pitt answered by evasion.

"Such strains of eloquence I could scarce conceive of. Pitt is far the greater orator. His big round periods roll like thunder upon the ear. Sheridan's eloquence is more like a torrent. At one time, its force seems to bear down every thing before it; then it becomes smooth, and flows along with the most delightful regularity; afterwards it is rough, broken, and interrupted.

"I have heard nothing of the hospital which was to be established in Boston. Does it progress? and have you, sir, a prospect of getting appointed to it?"

December, 1800. — "If it please God to preserve my

health, I *will* endeavor to do honor to my country and to my family. I will attempt to repay, in some degree, the obligations I feel for being what I am. Talk no more of nature, dear mother: it is to you I owe every improvement I possess.

"Nothing can be more interesting than Dr. Hope's course. His address is so pleasing, his method and illustrations so perspicuous, and his experiments so striking and beautiful, that one cannot fail to be delighted with the science he teaches.

"Among other speculations which are now the reigning topics among chemists and philosophers, the most curious is one on a newly formed gas, of which, perhaps, you have already heard, — the nitrous oxide of azote, or gaseous oxide of azote."

Mr. Warren, as will be seen, was keenly alive to any reproach or slur upon the American character, and ready to resent it in such a manner as to silence it, at least in his presence. Both in England and France, he adopted the resolution to avoid, when possible, being drawn into a quarrel; but, when once in, to carry it effectually through.

His political opinions before he left home, his hatred of the principles of the Sans-culottes, have been already described. In England he was a strong Republican, ready, upon a sudden impulse, to fraternize with, or rather to lead, a mob; and, in one or two instances, narrowly escaped being involved in public disturbances; being once arrested by the police, but rescued and applauded by the people.

To those who recollect the feelings maintained a

few years afterwards by the Federal party in regard to Napoleon, it is striking and interesting to hear the moderation and prudence, the freedom from selfish aims or ambitious views, of the First Consul, spoken of in these letters; the perfect conviction entertained, that the freedom of the French republic incurred no danger from him.

There can be no doubt that Napoleon made Washington, if any man, his first model. To those who incline to speculate upon past events, it may be interesting to consider what would have been the after-history of Napoleon, if he could have obtained his earnest wish for peace and alliance with England. England would make no peace with a usurper: hence Napoleon could only live in a state of warfare; and his destruction, with the restoration of the Bourbons, and probably the Bastille, or the conquest of Europe, were the only alternatives. There is a stereotyped assertion, that the French cannot govern themselves; and subsequent events go very far to prove it. Still, as we know that Napoleon had a strong genius for the works of peace, and how much he did for the sciences and the arts, is it not probable, that, had he been permitted, he would have been content with the cultivation of those works, and obtained far greater glory as the benefactor of his nation, and, more or less, the peaceful reformer of Europe?

It may be said that this was not possible; for that, sooner or later, the sovereigns of the Continental nations must have found that their safety depended upon

crushing the Republic and the Republican ruler. And here probably lay the true issue of the question, not in the moderation or the ambition of Bonaparte.

Be this as it may, it is not wonderful that a young man of ardent feelings was disposed to admire the genius and brilliant qualities of Napoleon, and to adopt the more generous views of Fox and Sheridan, rather than the colder and more cautious ones of Pitt.

In writing from France, he alludes to two dangers which he supposes may be sources of alarm to his father, who feared the effect of his residence there. The first is the adoption of ultra Democratic, or Jacobinical, principles. This fear, he says, is perfectly unfounded; for, had he been inclined to such principles when he left home, a very short residence in Paris would have cured him. The second danger which he supposes his father fears, — that to his morals, — he allows, is a more serious one. Against this danger, he thinks he is sufficiently on his guard.

With these extracts from his letters, we proceed to his biographical notes, giving an account of the same period.

CHAPTER IV.

EUROPE IN 1799–1802.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

HAVING passed a year after leaving college without deciding on a profession (employing, however, a considerable time in the acquisition of the French language from Professor Sales), I devoted a second year to the study of medicine. Then, having obtained permission to visit Europe, on the morning of the 16th of June, 1799, my luggage having been sent on board previously, I took leave of my family, in School Street, about eight o'clock, and walked alone to the ship "Minerva," at Long Wharf. I recollect my sensations at that time very distinctly. Though not yet twenty years old, I was launching out into the world, for the first time, under my own direction. I felt the responsibility, and the danger of exposure; and this, and the quitting of my friends, at first produced a degree of despondency. But this soon passed off, and left me full of hope and expectation.

On board ship, I found a number of friends, particularly John Hubbard, and his sister Miss Mary Hubbard, Miss Gear (now Mrs. Tucker), Mr. and Mrs. Higginson, and others. In a short time, we were under way; and, on the following day, were out of sight of land. Our country being at that time at war with France, our ship had an armament of twenty-six pounders. The passengers immediately enrolled themselves to take charge of some of them.

Mr. Hubbard, Lieutenant Sturt, an Englishman, one seaman, and myself, had charge of one quarter-deck gun. This we got to manœuvre with great ease by daily exercise. Sometimes we practised firing at marks; in which I was, at that time, very successful. We often pursued other ships, and were sometimes pursued ourselves. When we arrived in the English Channel, which was crowded with English and French cruisers, we were sometimes detained by the English, and treated rather roughly. We always gave them as good as their own; and, on one occasion, our Captain Turner told the captain of an English ship that he hoped he should some time have the pleasure of meeting him on the broad sea. One of the English lieutenants who came on board on another occasion, noticing how angry we were at being stopped, said he had seen Americans before, and they were the most uneasy people he had met with on the seas. We, however, landed without any fight; but, the next voyage, the same ship "Minerva," of twenty guns and forty men, was attacked by a strong French ship-of-war, having the same name, and carrying the same number of guns and one hundred and fifty men. Of course, our "Minerva" was no match for such a ship, being a thin-sided merchant-vessel. She made a good fight, however, before she was taken; and three of the four men who were at my gun were killed, or very much lacerated.

In order to save the voyage round to the Thames, the passengers were set ashore at Deal, near Dover. This was a sailors' town, but very neat, built of stone; and the first thing I recollect to have noticed was a small stone Gothic church, a thousand years old. This was very delightful to us Americans. In the course of the morning, we understood there was to be a review just outside of the town, and walked out to see it. There we found a fine Bri-

tish regiment, and a body of artillery. One of the officers, seeing us there, spoke to one of our party; and, finding we were Americans, immediately told us that he had been in America in the late war, and was, if I recollect rightly, in the Battle of Bunker Hill. His name was Captain Parker. He attended to us through the review, and afterwards took us to his quarters to tea. On walking into town, we had an opportunity of noticing the beauty and richness of the verdure of the swells called downs, and the immense cliffs of chalky rock, which form a boundary to the ocean, four or five hundred feet high.

The next day, we set off for London in a fine English stage-coach; passed the night at Sydenham, and arrived in London towards evening the next day. We were landed at a small hotel near Soho Square. As we first arrived in the vortex of London, we began to be astonished. The immense population, streets continued ten miles out, and the vast number of carriages, affected us certainly in a manner not at first agreeable. We seemed to apprehend we never should emerge from this vast confusion.

On the next day, we changed our quarters to a pleasant situation in Bloomsbury Square, — a nice boarding-house, kept by Mr. John Gray, a British refugee from America. Here I met Dr. Hewson, son of the famous Mr. Hewson, who wrote on the blood. He afterwards settled in Philadelphia, and died very lately. There was also a British officer in the house (Captain Wilson), who was very kind to me, showing me the new things.

After remaining in this place about a month, I took a journey through the south of England, along the south coast to Southampton, the Isle of Wight, Hastings, Brighton, Dover, Margate. In the latter place, I met with General Arnold, the traitor, so called. He was there with his family.

I recollect a son, very handsome; and a daughter. Arnold was rather a stout man, broad-shouldered, large black eyes. He walked lame, from a wound received at the attack of Quebec, I think.

The period of lectures now approaching, I made an arrangement with Mr. William Cooper, Surgeon of Guy's Hospital, to be his dresser for a year; for which I paid him fifty guineas; that is, two hundred and fifty dollars. Mr. Cooper was senior surgeon; and, as it happened, I was senior dresser. I was immediately put in charge of about forty patients, comprising as interesting a collection of surgical accidents and diseases as could be desired. A large number of these patients required daily dressing, which I practised for a year faithfully. During my week, I slept in the hospital.

As Mr. Cooper was well advanced in life, he left matters pretty much to me. He came there only twice a week, and walked round with his dressers in a very quiet way, making amusing and instructive remarks. He had no great respect for America, considering her as having separated from the British empire before maturity. He was, however, very much pleased to find we were so white-complexioned, and so little contaminated with Indian blood. On one occasion, he asked me, "Have you schools in America, Mr. Warren?" I gave him Judge Minot's "History of the Rebellion in '88." He afterwards said to me, "Sir, the first sentence of your American author is bad logic." He was a very pleasant man, however, and occasionally asked me to dine with him. Finally, he resigned his office, and retired with Mrs. Cooper, having no children, to the beautiful town of Tiverton, in the south of England, near Exeter; from which last city my family originated. Mr. Cooper once said to me, "Your family has a claim to the estates of the Duke of

Norfolk. The Warrens formerly held that property; and, now the line of Howards is extinct, you can put in your claim." This gentleman was succeeded by his nephew, Mr. Astley Cooper, who was then quite a young man, but very promising. He was one of the handsomest men I ever saw; was always very kind to me through his life. My residence, while at Guy's Hospital, was in St. Thomas Street, close to the hospital. I lived at a cork-cutter's, and had two small rooms on the third story, — one front and one rear. I lived in the usual manner of medical students; that is, entirely by myself. Food being provided by the landlady, I took it in my room. We breakfasted at nine, dined at three, and drank tea irregularly. My time was wholly occupied at the hospital; and, of course, there was no great tedium. In the morning, I went through my dressings; at noon, attended Clive and Cooper's lectures; dissected in the afternoon; and wrote off my notes at night. This last I did with great regularity; and got a fair copy, in epitome, of the lectures above mentioned; and also of Sir Astley Cooper's lectures on surgery, in the evening. At the same time, I attended a complete course of midwifery by Dr. Haighton, and a course of physiology by the same gentleman. We had also a good course of lectures on the teeth, by Mr. Fox.

Saturday or Sunday, I often dined out, and particularly at Mr. Gore's, a commissioner in London: in which case, I always walked from the borough, so called, where the hospital was, to his house, four miles off, and back again; and never thought of taking a hackney-coach, of which, in fact, there were very few at that time. I do not recollect to have ridden in a gig all the time I was in England, but was once or twice on horseback. Sometimes I went to the theatre, in the evening, to see Mrs. Siddons or Mr. Kemble. But this happened very rarely, perhaps on account of the

distance; for Drury Lane and Covent Garden were about three miles from the borough.

One evening, in going from my lodgings to the West End of the town, I fell in with a mob, which was raised on account of a scarcity of bread. Instead of keeping clear of it, as would have been wise, I entered into it, and talked with the people, to ascertain what their views and objects were. At this time, a charge was made upon the mob by a body of dragoons; and every one was obliged to save himself as he could. This attack irritated me among others; and we rallied, and made preparations for defence. Soon after, we were assailed by a body of police. Sympathizing with the people, who were in a state of starvation, and irritated by the attacks, I got on the edge of the sidewalk, and began to address the crowd on their unhappy condition. They were highly delighted to find a person, dressed like a gentleman, haranguing in their favor; and loudly cheered, and demanded a repetition of the harangue. At this moment, a gentleman spoke to me, drew me aside, and represented the dangerous position I was taking; and that, although the people were in a suffering state, they were not likely to get any remedy in this way. I readily understood this, of course; and, having no great desire to be apprehended as the leader of a mob, I walked off with him in the direction I had been going: and he, having ascertained what course I was taking, offered to show me the way; for it so happened, that, in following the mob, I had been drawn entirely away from the usual route from the east to west, into the complicated streets and lanes of the northern part of London. However, this gentleman went with me a good distance, told me he was an officer in the army, that he had no connection with the police, and that his speaking to me was accidental. I then as freely told him who I was, and made him understand

I had no desire to overturn the British government. By a long and perilous route, I reached my destination, and walked back to the borough the same evening.

Among those whom I was most acquainted with in London was one of my brother-dressers, — Mr. Roots, of Kingston on Thames. He was of a good English family, a person of fine natural talents, great wit, a ready writer, but more fond of pleasure than of labor. From him I learnt more of the manners, customs, and feelings of the English people than I could have obtained from common intercourse. He was highly aristocratic, and had a great respect for the class of nobility, and seemed to be free from the least jealousy of their superior advantages. He told me, that, in his section of the country, there were certain noblemen who were looked on as the fathers of the people. They were not only liberal with money, he said, but studious in their politeness towards their inferiors. I kept up a correspondence with him for many years, and visited his residence at Kingston when I was in England the second time.

At Mr. Gore's, afterwards Governor Gore, I was quite at home. I was often at the minister's, Mr. King; and was well acquainted with Mr. Trumbull, the painter, who was a commissioner; Mr. Samuel Cabot, Secretary of the Commission; and Mr. Samuel Williams, consul.

The most distinguished medical men of that time were Dr. Saunders, Ralph, and Babington, in Guy's Hospital. At St. Thomas's was Dr. Fordyce; at St. Bartholomew's, Mr. Abernethy; and at St. George's, Sir Everard Home.

The second summer I was in London, I visited Oxford in company with Mr. John Pickering. He being a classical scholar, and an old college acquaintance, we had a delightful visit. He gave me a small Didot's Virgil, which I have retained to this time. And the mention of this brings to my

mind that Mr. William Cooper gave me a beautiful Elzevir edition of Cæsar's "Commentaries," which I also have. Dr. Stark, of Norfolk, Va., gave me another edition of Cæsar, also carefully preserved. Dr. Simmons, whom I was much with in Edinburgh, gave me a neat copy of "Junius."

My life in London was, on the whole, very pleasant, my time fully occupied; and although I was situated in a remote, dark, unhealthy part of the city, I never felt any thing like ennui. Occasionally, the common routine was enlivened by a visit to some remarkable place; as some ancient church, Westminster Abbey for instance. I walked to the abbey, which was not over three miles, towards the close of the day, when the setting sun shone through its colored windows, making impressions on my mind which are still fresh in my recollection.

I was kindly received in London in the houses of a number of the refugees, or "old Tories," as they were called. They were usually gentlemen of advanced age, living very comfortably. They were remarkably healthy; which was attributed to their change of climate, and their return, as Sir Charles Lyell would say, to their native air. Among them, I often visited Harrison Gray, Esq., of Rathbone Place, Oxford Street; the Vassals, a distinguished Boston family, who lived at Clapham, four miles from London; and the Timminses, of the same place. Mr. Vassal used to execrate, in strong language, the conduct of the Massachusetts Legislature to him and his family in confiscating their estates. William Vassal, who was a classmate of my father's, lived in the west of England; and I never saw him but once, which was at the house of Mr. Joy. The Joys were also very kind to me; and Mr. George Joy has frequently written to me since.

In the autumn of 1800, I left London for Edinburgh, in company with my friend Mr. Jones, mentioned elsewhere as the author of the treatise on the hemorrhage of divided arteries. His work on this subject is the most important addition to surgical pathology that I recollect. Jones was a West Indian, a native of Barbadoes. He resided much in England; but ultimately returned to his native island, and died there at an early period. He was a person of elevated character, excellent talents, and great industry. We left London together in a post-chaise, — a very expensive but delightful mode of conveyance, as it enables one to stop at any moment to examine an interesting spot; to go fast or slow, the speed being determined by the presents you make to the postilion. We took about a month to go to Edinburgh; stopping, of course, at all interesting spots. Our first day's visit brought us to Cambridge, where we remained long enough to visit many beautiful and classical spots. Among these, the most captivating is the beautiful river Cam, with its grassy banks, flowing through the midst of the colleges.

From Cambridge we went through Huntingdon, the birthplace of Oliver Cromwell, to Derbyshire, and examined all the wonders of that country, so interesting in a picturesque and geological view. Matlock is decidedly the most attractive of these. Its precipitous mountains, deep valleys, and romantic waterfalls, form pictures in which nothing is wanting to satisfy the imagination. From Derbyshire we crossed the country to Liverpool, which was then in an incipient state. We made no stay there, as there was nothing interesting. But our visit was enlivened by the occurrence of an extempore party. We met at tea or supper about a dozen Englishmen, — travellers, merchants, farmers, country gentlemen. They seemed to be a good hearty set

of people. We soon got acquainted, and sat down together as cordially as if we had been old friends. After a good supper of beefsteak and coffee, the conversation became very free; and it was soon agreed that each man should tell a story, sing a song, or pay a smart fine. This was carried into full execution. Though many of the songs were not very musical, they excited peals of applause proportionate to the utter defect of any thing like music. From Liverpool, we went to the celebrated Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The waters of Windermere, Derwent, and Keswick, exceeded every thing in picturesque beauty which I have seen before or since. Near the south end of the Lake of Keswick, there is a very perfect Druidical circle, I think about a hundred feet in diameter. Every stone is sacredly preserved in its place. At the other or northern end of the lake is seen the mountain Skiddaw, which reminded me of the versicle I used to read, when a child, in Colver's folio account of England, in which he says the country people about the Lake of Keswick know when a storm is approaching. The proverb is, —

> "If Skiddaw's top have a cap,
> Scroffle wots full well of that."

Scroffle is a village on the opposite side of the lake from Skiddaw. My recollection of this poetical proverb shows the use of poetry in aiding the memory; for, if this had been written in prose, it probably would not have come into my recollection so perfectly after the lapse of fifty years.

In the north of England, we passed through the city of Lancaster, — a small town, but very ancient, containing the relics of a castle, where, for aught I know, John of Gaunt was born. At Carlisle (which was the next considerable

town, and, like all the English towns, very neat and beautiful, containing ancient stone churches, and surrounded by mouldering stone walls) we met a gentleman who was going to Scotland. Dr. Jones and myself, as is very common in England, engaged a post-chaise with this stranger. Our next and last day's journey from Carlisle to Edinburgh was one hundred miles, to be performed in one day by post-chaises. We set out, therefore, at two o'clock in the morning; and, without seeing any thing that made an impression on my mind, we reached Edinburgh on the same evening, and were landed at the George Hotel in the new town. Here I remained a few days to look up lodgings; and fortunately found a very good room at Mrs. Burrill's, Beecher Place, in the old town. My room was in the sixth story, or flat, as they called it. It was a very large room, containing a niche with a bed at one end. Here I lived very comfortably on a quartern-loaf of bread, a mutton-chop, and potato cooked in the Scotch way, which is very good; tea, with bread and butter, morning and night. The quartern-loaf lasted a fortnight. I scarcely ever dined out; had no fellow-lodger but one American, — Mr. Clay, of Virginia. He, though a very pleasant man, was rather dissipated, and was out a large part of the time; so that we rarely came together, and always took our meals apart. Very rarely, we had a meeting of the Americans and West Indians, which was generally held in one of our rooms. There was, I think, no Northern man there except myself; but a large number of Virginians and South Carolinians. Most of the West Indians preferred our society to that of the English or Scotch; and some of them were very good men, with whom I retained communication through the greater part of my life. So far as I know, they are all dead now. Once I dined at a great feast given by the Scottish Whigs to Lord Erskine; which was the first

great political dinner I ever attended. There was a great deal of speech-making, and enough of eating and drinking.

The latter part of the time I was in Edinburgh, my friend Roots came there; and, Clay having gone, I took him into our elevated apartment, and passed some weeks very pleasantly with him.

My course at Edinburgh was to rise at eight in the morning; and, having breakfasted, to go to Dr. Gregory's lecture at nine, Dr. Hope's chemistry at ten, John and Charles Bell at eleven, infirmary at twelve, Munro's anatomy and surgery at one. I got home about three, and dined; then passed the afternoon and evening in writing off lectures: not the whole of them, of course; for that would be impossible. But I took notes of all of them, and wrote off, first, infirmary cases, of which I have quite a collection.

CHAPTER V.

EUROPE IN 1799–1802.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

EDINBURGH is undoubtedly the place for a student. Every thing there is calculated for study. There is, however, little association between the students and the inhabitants; which is, of course, a great disadvantage to the former. On the 4th of June, 1801, I left Edinburgh to go to Paris. There being at that time war between Great Britain and France, it was impossible to go direct to the latter country. It was thought safe, however, to proceed to Holland, though this country was under the power of France. I therefore took passage in a supposed neutral vessel belonging to the city of Papenberg, having for my companion a Virginian by the name of Flournoy. The vessel was small; and there was but one berth for us, and that too short. There were no other passengers but ourselves; and the crew, being Dutch, were not acquainted with the English language. The Dutch not being famous for fast sailing, we were a week in crossing the North Sea; living upon salt pork, beef, and cabbage. One night, we suddenly found ourselves surrounded by a large fleet of ships of war, some of them of the largest size. The captain directly knew it was a British fleet, there being no other ships of war which could navigate the ocean at that time. Our little vessel lay directly under the stern of an immense line-of-battle ship of the first class; and the latter, being magnified by the obscurity, had a most

imposing appearance. They allowed us to pass, however; and we arrived safely at Rotterdam, after sailing up the Maese, through a country perfectly flat, and on a level below our vessel. The novelty of the very clean, straight streets, sometimes lined with trees, and a multitude of canals intersecting the city in all directions, struck us very agreeably. The air of cleanliness which pervaded every thing was particularly displayed in the hotel, where we found a great assemblage of people from various nations, — French, Germans, English, Americans. We soon made acquaintances, and found ourselves very much at home. The next day, visited a very large anatomical museum, which was shown by a portly Dutch woman with perfect sang-froid.

From Rotterdam we went to the most famous cities in Holland, — Amsterdam, the Hague, Leyden, &c. In the latter town, we called on the famous Professor Sandefort, who showed us the anatomical collection of Ruysch, famous for the most beautiful injected preparations which have ever been made.

Here I bought a great collection of books; for, going into a bookseller's shop, when he found we were strangers (as he readily did; for we spoke no Dutch, but only French), he told us, that, now the French had the mastery of Holland, his trade was at an end; and he should be glad to sell as many books as we could carry away, for a very little money. I ventured to purchase of him, though without knowing how I should ever get them out of the country, a large box of anatomical works, principally plates, which I had packed up, and left with directions to ship them for Boston the first opportunity. The bookseller was highly delighted with his bargain; and I paid him, I think, about seventeen dollars for this boxful. The books arrived safe home in due time; and, being generally in Latin, have been among the most useful in my library.

From Holland we went into the Low Countries, particularly Antwerp and Brussels. The immense stone houses, with court-yards, the windows barred with iron as strong as our jails, presented a contrast to the buildings we had been accustomed to in England and our own country. Antwerp, formerly one of the great marts of Europe, was almost destitute of inhabitants: a vast number of houses unoccupied, many of which we might have purchased for a quarter part of their original worth. In Brussels, I went once to the theatre, and was much struck with the chivalric air of the people; which might, perhaps, be partly produced by my imagination, when I brought to mind the wars of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and the military operations which that country had been the scene of from the time of the Romans to the present day.

At Brussels it was necessary to get permission to go into France; and whether this could be obtained was a matter of some uncertainty. It was necessary to undergo full examination before the Prefect of the Department. So I took my passports from home and from our minister in London (Mr. King), and waited on the prefect. I found him to be a Frenchman, good-looking, very keen; dressed in a long sky-blue frock, with morocco slippers. He turned over my passports, took a thorough survey of me, and said my papers should be ready at a certain hour. So, after paying a small fee, I received them, and set out the next day for Paris in a diligence. We were two or three days on the route, travelling day and night with the same passengers (about six on the inside); and passed through a great number of famous towns, which had been rendered particularly remarkable by the recent events of the French Revolution. Among these was Cambray, with its quadruple walls; Mons, where the French alarmed the inhabitants by floating

balloons over their heads; Lamear and Valenciennes, the latter of which exhibited the destructive effects of the French bombardment. We arrived in Paris in the middle of the month of July, and landed at the Hotel de Boston, Rue Vivienne, where I was at once at home among my own countrymen. By the aid of my banker, Mr. Thomas Melville, I obtained a place in the household of Dubois, afterwards Baron, then sole Surgeon of the Hospice de l'Ecole de Médecine, Rue de l'Ecole de Médecine, close to the School of Medicine. This was a very fortunate place for me, as it brought me into very intimate relations with half a dozen students, as well as Dubois, and some French gentlemen of his acquaintance; particularly Bessieres, aid-de-camp of Murat (who was afterwards King of Naples), and nephew of Marshal Bessieres; Pougueville, and the savans who had been in Egypt with Bonaparte. Both these gentlemen took a particular fancy to me. Bessieres afterwards offered to carry me to the army, if I desired to see service. Pougueville wrote an account of Greece, and instructed me, for his own amusement, in the Italian language. He had been in Greece and Egypt with Bonaparte, and spoke Greek very fluently. He gave me, among other things, a song in modern Greek, which he used to sing; and the air, as well as the song itself, I retain after the lapse of fifty years.

Bonaparte was at that time First Consul. Cambacérès and Le Brun were also consuls, but had no power. At Dubois', we used to talk freely of his projects; and the opinion of some of them was, that Bonaparte would soon be Emperor of the French nation. Dubois was of a different opinion. He was a great friend of Bonaparte, from having been with him in Egypt. He said, "Bonaparte has all the power of emperor now; and he has too much sense to alarm the people by assuming the title." However, in four years

after, he was actually Emperor. Dubois voted for him; was accoucheur to the Empress; Baron, and member of the Legion of Honor.

My plan of study in Paris was the following: Anatomy and chemistry I determined to pursue till I got a thorough knowledge of them. The foundation of chemical knowledge I had laid in Edinburgh, by a close attention to a six months' course of the best chemical lecturer in Europe, — Dr. Hope. By the aid of Dubois, I got admission to the lectures of Vauquelin, who was, perhaps, the best chemist in France, though certainly not the best lecturer. He had a small private class of about forty, composed of first-rate men of science and noblemen from all parts of Europe. I usually sat close to Vauquelin, by the side of a Russian nobleman. This course was two hours a day, every other day, for seven or eight months. By its aid I was able to go into practical and experimental chemistry, as soon as I returned to Boston, in the Natural-Philosophy Society, which, by its apparatus, the zeal of its members, and the necessity of lecturing on different topics, gave me a very satisfactory acquaintance with the subject. The changes and improvements in chemical science which took place when I was closely engaged in the practice of medicine were made with such rapidity, that I was unable to follow them; and, though I have done something to supply the deficiency, I never expect to do it effectually.

As to anatomy, I began it anew under the direction of Ribes, with the students of Dubois only. We took up the Osteology of Gavard; which is, I suppose, the best that has ever been written. It is a thick octavo volume. This I went through pretty thoroughly; and learned, not only the anatomy of the bones, but the mode of describing anatomical subjects, of which I had no idea before. I attended also, under the same roof, — the old Capuchin Convent, which

was the seat of our hospital and lectures, — a course of anatomy by Chaussier and Dupuytren. The former was the author of the first scientific anatomical nomenclature. The latter was just beginning to develop his talents. I recollect remarking to him, that he spoke with great facility, and that I understood him better than any other lecturer. He replied with a modesty quite peculiar, and which he certainly got wholly rid of at a later period of life.

Dubois gave us a course of midwifery, and occasionally a very beautiful lecture on anatomy. Besides these lectures, I attended Dubois' clinique twice a week, his daily visit at the hospital in which we lived, and the medical clinique of Corvisart at the Charité. After the winter courses were over, I attended the lectures of the Jardin des Plantes. At the head of the lecturers there was Fourcrois, — a great orator as well as chemist. Next to him was Cuvier, an elegant lecturer, and destined to play the first part in the science of comparative anatomy and paleontology. Desfontaines was considered the best lecturer on botany. Besides these, I attended some scattered lectures of Sabbatier, whose anatomy was the favorite work of my father. At Dubois', we rose, in the winter, in darkness, and scrambled to the hospital, or else through mud and dirt to La Charité. The Hôtel Dieu was too far off, and at that time in too bad a condition, to be attended with advantage. At about nine, A.M., we convened in the salle à manger, about half a dozen of us, and, without sitting down, took, from certain shelves placed around the room, our breakfast, consisting of bread, cream, and a bottle of thin Paris wine. Then we went to the lectures ; and had dinner with Dubois and his family at four, P.M. The dinner was always, first, bouillon ; second, bouillie ; third, some kind of roast meat and potatoes, followed by cheese. In the evening, we had some wine, and bread and

cheese, if we wished it. In the season of grapes, we had this fruit instead of cheese; never tea, coffee, chocolate, or any thing of the kind. In the evening, we sometimes went to the theatre; but not more than two or three times in the winter. Once I went to a grand masquerade, or bal masqué, at the opera-house. I was in a domino, with a mask. While there, I was accosted by a judge in flowing red robes. He was a Frenchman, but pretended to be an old acquaintance; and, when I disclaimed this, he related a number of personal incidents which he pretended had occurred in the course of my life. And, indeed, he was perfectly correct; but where he got his information, I never learned. I had scarcely got rid of the judge, when I was accosted by two French ladies, elegantly dressed, who called me by name, and entered into conversation; from which, of course, I did not retreat. I waited upon these ladies round, hoping to discover in them some Parisian acquaintances. They invited me to call at their hotel in Faubourg St. Germain; but, soon after, they slipped into the crowd, and I never saw more of them.

The French students with whom I mingled were green from the French Revolution. They were, for the most part, a rude and vulgar set of people. Sometimes they behaved in such a way that I resented it, and got into some pretty serious quarrels. There were no English there, there being war with England at the time; and, in my hospital, no Americans; so that I was obliged to look for aid among other foreigners. The principal person who stood by me in these troubles was a German by the name of Souveraires, of Vienna. Ultimately, the French students learned not to meddle with us; and, from that time, we went on more quietly and pleasantly.

My residence in the family of Dubois gave me a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with the manners and

feelings of the French. Conversation, with a little dancing, occupied most of the time. Billiards were very common in private families. What the French call *petits jeux* were ingeniously varied, so as to afford an inexhaustible fund of amusement. Wine and tea were scarcely ever seen in private families or at private parties. In fact, tea was unattainable for the most part.

The French resort, however, very much to public places, spectacles. There was always a great deal going on which served to amuse people who were very easily amused. I went once to St. Germain, the ancient palace of the kings of France; once to Montmorenci, where I had an opportunity of seeing the amusements of the country people. Near the chateau was a beautiful grove of ten or a dozen acres, in which were collected all the peasantry, male and female, of the village. The women were dressed in their gayest clothes, many with little straw hats and floating ribbons, others without any covering for the head; dancing, singing, making all sorts of music, playing every variety of games. The women bore the principal part in these entertainments.

At the end of summer, I left Paris for London, on the way home. I passed about six weeks there, collecting books and preparations; and embarked for home on the 17th October, 1802. The only ship I could find was a West-India sugar-ship, called the "Richard." The accommodations were excessively bad; and the passengers, who were only ten or twelve in number, very much crowded. Among them were Colonel Gibbs, of R.I., with whom I was very much acquainted; Consul Lyman, father of William Lyman; and Mr. Vose, afterwards Dr. Vose, of Liverpool, who wrote the account of the first successful operation of Sir Astley Cooper on carotid aneurism. I met him again in Liverpool thirty-five years after.

The voyage was fifty days long,— dark, disagreeable; the

ship very dirty; the fare very poor; the passengers very dull and frightened. A few of us passed the time gayly, being rather amused with the irritability of the other passengers. We had one exciting incident. About noon, one day, we espied something at a great distance, which appeared like a floating mast projecting from the water. As it lay out of our course, the captain was unwilling to lose time in looking at it. We prevailed on him, however, to alter his course; and, when we approached the object, we sent a boat to it. The waves were so high, it seemed impossible for a boat to ride safely in such a sea. The boat was absent some time; and not till it returned close to our ship could we discover that it had taken in six human beings. It was a small vessel from New Bedford, bound for the West Indies, which had been capsized by a squall in the night. A number of people were drowned. Six saved themselves by getting on the bowsprit, which was the part projecting from the water. They lived upon some bits of salt pork, which they succeeded in cutting out of the forecastle; and, when it rained, they spread a blanket to catch the water, which they afterwards sucked from it. Some of them stood in the water all the time, so that their legs were ulcerated. As soon as the boat touched the side of our ship, one man mounted over the backs of the others; and presently we saw a tall negro fall down upon our deck. The crew was a family party from New Bedford, the negro being their servant and cook. The captain was quite an old man, with two sons and one or two nephews. Our passengers were soon occupied in getting them comfortable clothes; and I had a regular duty afterwards in dressing their wounds. One of them called on me some time after my arrival home, and thanked me. We arrived in New York on the 5th December, 1802; and, the next day, I took passage in a Newport

packet, which, leaving New York at four in the afternoon, sailed rapidly through the Sound, and reached Newport the next morning; which was thought very great. I landed there, and made a visit to my fellow-student Senter; then went aboard a Providence packet, which brought me to Providence at dark. There, hiring a stage-coach, we pushed on to Boston, and reached the corner of School Street, where my family lived, at midnight. I soon roused them, and heard the voice of my old friend Dixwell demanding what I wanted.

The next day was a jubilee in the family; and, for the few following days, I was employed in making visits. I found at home my friend William Tudor, who had been with me in Europe; and he introduced me to his family and other friends, and among them Mr. Mason's family, with whom I soon became much acquainted. My father had suffered from an attack of paralysis some time before; and, though he had got over it pretty well, he required aid in his professional duties. He was, at that time, probably in greater practice than any other physician who was then, or has been, in Boston. He had lately had with him Dr. Shurtleff, who had got the run of his practice, and took off a good deal of it. In a few days after getting home, I found it necessary to begin practice, in order to afford some relief to my father. Although well acquainted with the principles of the medical art, I had gone very little into the details of private practice; my time having been necessarily devoted to the elementary and scientific parts of the study of medicine. I recollect being very much puzzled on being sent to a child in a fit, to determine exactly what dose of ipecac to give as an emetic. I ultimately fixed on thirteen grains for a child four years old. My father was quite amused that I should have given exactly that dose, and seemed to con-

sider it rather large for a child of four years. My father having a very great practice in midwifery, many of these cases fell to my lot among poor people. But, although it was rather a *dirty* practice, it was gratifying to me to be able to bestow my time on people who were disposed to receive me favorably. In the course of that summer, I was left with the whole practice, — medical, surgical, and obstetrical. At this time, I underwent many severe trials from the great pressure, the want of the habit of practice, and the unwillingness of many persons to confide in so young a physician. In the autumn, I undertook the dissections for the lectures at Cambridge. In this I was quite at home; but the daily attendance at Cambridge, and the time spent in dissections, interfered with another more important business, — the preparation for my approaching marriage with Miss Mason, daughter of the gentleman mentioned above. The marriage took place Nov. 17, 1803, after a six months' engagement, and within a year of my return from Europe, at the house of Mr. Mason, which was the best house in Boston, and occupied the space where Mr. Powell Mason's house now stands. In that house I passed the first six weeks of married life, and then went to Tremont Street, to the house belonging to Mr. Samuel Eliot, where the Pavilion now stands.

At that period, I made sometimes fifty visits a day.

We passed the first year in Mr. Eliot's house, where our eldest child was born, which lived about eighteen months. It died of teething shortly after our removal to Park Street, which was in October, 1805. My eldest daughter, afterwards Mrs. Lyman, was born a few months after our removal; and the rest of my children successively at intervals of about two years.

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICS OF 1802.

DURING this exciting period in the political world, the subject of this Memoir took an earnest part in public affairs.

It was a time when the vital interests of the country were at stake; and no man of literary abilities could be held excused from using his energies for the welfare of his country. There were then only two parties; and each considered the other as traitors to liberty. The Federalists were looked upon by their adversaries as desirous of introducing monarchical rule; while their adversaries were considered, perhaps with more reason, as pursuing measures tending to anarchy, mob-rule, a reign of terror, ending more surely in despotism.

The younger Dr. Warren, like his father, followed the principles of Washington and Hamilton. In England, he had been naturally rather inclined to democratic, or at least to anti-aristocratic, principles; but in France, as he relates in his letter to his father, he saw sufficient to cure him of any ultra-liberal tendencies, had they existed.

In his Biographical Notes, he gives an account of his political engagements as follows: —

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In 1820, I was chosen a member of the State Convention for amending the Constitution, and sat as a member three months. This is the only political office I ever held; although I was very much concerned in the politics of 1798, in opposition to the principles of the French Revolution. I wrote a good deal on politics, and succeeded, with others, in getting up a military spirit; in consequence of which, various new military companies were formed, particularly the Boston Light Infantry, of which I was an officer.

After returning from Europe in 1802, I joined the Cadet Company, and officiated as a private; was chosen surgeon, and continue so to the present time (1849), having held the office about forty years.

The politics of the country, after the time of General Washington, assumed a character of which nobody of the present day can form an adequate notion. The general impression among the educated part of society was, that a certain set of men were desirous of translating the French Revolution to this country. Of course, with it was to come the guillotine, the abolition of religious worship, and probably also atheism. The Federal party, though in the minority, were powerful in talent, property, and determination. They breasted the popular current; and finally succeeded in diverting its course, although Federalism died in the struggle.

Among the events of the day, in which I had some concern, was the shooting of Austin by Selfridge, in State Street, at mid-day. Austin, the father, was editor of the principal Jacobin paper, the "Independent Chronicle;" which, singularly enough, ultimately merged in a Whig

paper.* It was the vehicle of abuse and denunciation. On one occasion, I was denounced myself; and, without consulting any one, went armed to the "Chronicle" office to demand the name of the author. The name I could not obtain; but was never assailed afterwards in that paper. On the other side, also, personal recriminations were sometimes severe; and many were directed particularly against Mr. Benjamin Austin, the editor above alluded to. One of these, which made heavy charges against him, was thought or known to proceed from Thomas O. Selfridge, a lawyer, a college classmate of mine, a person of talents, but not very much liked. Mr. Austin had a son who had just graduated at Cambridge, — a courageous young man, who did not understand that his father could not have the privilege of insulting other men, without drawing on himself an equivalent abuse. Young Austin, irritated by the sarcasms poured on his father by Selfridge in the article alluded to, openly declared that he should punish the author personally on the first opportunity. Selfridge, hearing of this threat, armed himself to repel the attack. The facts were so well known, that public expectation was excited; and a great number of people were gathered together in State Street to gratify their curiosity about the expected *rencontre*, and take part, if necessary, in a general affray. At twelve o'clock, Selfridge was on Change; and, soon after, young Austin came down with a good-sized stick, sought out Selfridge, and, as soon as he discovered him, levelled a blow at his head. At the same moment, Selfridge drew a pistol from his pocket, fired, and Austin fell dead. Selfridge had received a severe contusion on the forehead; but, whether before or after the shot, no one of the many present could ever satisfactorily testify. Selfridge soon gave himself up for trial. I was called to

* The Boston Daily Advertiser.

examine his wound, and afterwards to give testimony at the trial. Selfridge was ultimately acquitted; and my testimony was quite important in the case; which led him to look upon me as one of his special advocates, — an honor which I did not particularly covet. The Democratic, or, as it was then called, the Jacobin or Antifederal party, stimulated by the violent writings of Mr. Austin the elder, rose in mobs, made processions through the streets, hung Selfridge in effigy, and, it was thought, would ultimately hang him in person. Notice was given that a great mob would be formed in Charlestown on a certain evening, and, marching through the North End, would be joined by a great body from that quarter, and thence proceed to attack the house which Selfridge lived in, — a boarding-house, situated in Howard Street, where the so-called Howard Athenæum now stands. Selfridge, much alarmed, sent round to his friends to request their aid in the protection of his residence and person. I went there, and found only five gentlemen besides the people in the house. The mob came, as was expected, through Hanover Street; and, when their appearance became very threatening, I proceeded to the High Sheriff, Mr. Allen, to demand a posse of officers to protect the house. He, being of a timid character, declined interposing. I returned to the boarding-house, and arranged with the other gentlemen, that all the male servants of the house, five or six in number, should, when the mob approached, be stationed on the steps of the door, with lights. By and by, they came. At their head was a bad-looking man, with a paper-cap on his head, and a club in his hand. As soon as he came in front of the door, one of the gentlemen (Mr. Tuttle), stepping out, seized him by the collar, on one side; I did the same on the other; and, without ceremony, dragged him into the house, secured the doors, and left the mob without their leader. They soon

dispersed; while we, on our part, sent for officers to secure our victim, had him lodged in jail for the night, and got home ourselves without broken heads. After this, the excitement gradually calmed, and there were no more mobs. Selfridge lived a number of years, but was never supported or encouraged by the Federal party; and he died considering himself a sort of victim to the cause he had undertaken to defend.

Another event in which I was engaged occurred some time after. Mr. William Austin, of Charlestown, a nephew of the editor, wrote a severe political personal article against General Eliot, commanding-officer of the military in this district, brother-in-law of Colonel T. H. Perkins, and always forward in the support of Federal principles. The general, meeting with Mr. Austin, struck him; and a contest ensued, in which it was thought Austin had the advantage. The son of General Eliot, a spirited young man of two or three and twenty, sent a challenge to Mr. Austin; which was accepted, and a meeting was arranged to take place on the borders of Rhode Island. I was consulted about these proceedings, and finally requested to go out as surgeon to Mr. Eliot. Our party reached Providence in the evening, had a pleasant supper, and the next morning, at four, proceeded to a wood lying near the boundary of Massachusetts. Mr. Henry Sargent was second to Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Charles P. Sumner to Mr. Austin. The parties were placed at twelve paces distant, fired together, and Austin was wounded in the lower jaw. He said, however, he was ready for another shot. They again took post; and, on the second fire, Austin was again wounded in the thigh. Both of the shots took full effect; but owing to the precaution of Mr. Sargent, who made the charge rather light, from the apprehension that Eliot, who was unaccustomed to firing, would fire too high,

neither of the balls penetrated deep; and thus another catastrophe was happily averted. After the affair was over, we got into our carriages, and drove to the first tavern in the State of Massachusetts, on the way homeward. Here I dressed the wounds of Austin, and he recovered without any subsequent inconvenience. I was blamed by a few persons for taking any part in such an affair; but the great mass of people — at least, those whom I was accustomed to associate with — seemed to consider it right and necessary under the circumstances of the times. In the present state of public opinion, such a procedure would be thought very objectionable.

The savage character of political feeling gradually expired with the destruction of Robespierre and his ferocious accomplices. The Federalists, finding their property and persons were not to be assailed, became languid in their efforts to overcome the opposite party; and ultimately, in the time of President Jackson, the two parties became fused with each other. The old Democrats were neglected by General Jackson; many of the Federalists became Jacksonites; and, the name of "Federalist" becoming extinct, that of "Whig" was substituted.

Wholly occupied by professional pursuits, I took no other part in the political squabbles of the day than to give my vote, and sometimes a little money, for the support of what I considered good government, and an onward movement for the happiness of the people and the prosperity of the country. I always opposed the Antislavery movement, so far as I judged it contrary to the Constitution and to the happiness of the negro population. On one occasion, I was the Vice-President in a conservative meeting in Faneuil Hall, which was called to express the public opinion in this town on the violent proceedings of some antislavery persons.

This was done, however, without any reference to opinions and proceedings of the two great political parties.*

The Federal party were always strenuous supporters of the central power of the United-States Government, in opposition to the pretensions of the State Governments. In this sentiment I always thoroughly concurred, from a belief that the democratic character of our institutions would always prevent any excessive increase of power in the central administration, and that the people would always support the State Governments in opposition to the General Government. Of course, the great danger of our political institutions would lie from the assumption of authority by the State Government, in any case where their particular interest might seem to conflict with the general interest; and that thus the Union would ultimately be broken. Such a state of things has actually arisen, in the attempt of South Carolina to nullify the laws of the United States. This was successfully opposed by President Jackson; but, had a weaker man been in the government, the State would very likely have made a successful opposition. This example will be followed by others.

At a dinner at Mr. Josiah Quincy, jun.'s, which took place some years after the administration of General Jackson, a number of gentlemen of the first character being present, the Honorable Judge Story, in an eloquent manner, assailed the administration of General Jackson, particularly his disposition to oppose the acts of the other branches of the government, and his vetoing certain bills; also his strenuous determination to have a metallic currency.

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* On a subsequent occasion, Dr. Warren presided at the great Union meeting, in Faneuil Hall, in 1850, called to express the opinions of all parties opposed to the disunion of the States. His speech on this occasion is given in another place.

After the honorable judge had concluded his remarks, which were very severe, I ventured to make a reply, and to show — what he himself must allow — that the great danger in our political condition arose from the opposition of the States to the General Government; that this danger had been increased by the introduction of the democratic principle, so called (but, in reality, an aristocratic principle); of the non-sociability of the States, in consequence of which an individual can have no redress, in cases of oppression, from a State Government. The doctrine had been uniformly maintained by the most eminent Federalist statesmen, that there could be no possible danger, under our government, of a tyrannical and arbitrary use of power by the United-States Executive, to an oppressive extent; that General Jackson's determination to enforce a specie-currency, however inconvenient it might be temporarily, was a measure which history would recall as a judicious and necessary proceeding.

The judge replied to my remarks, of course; and all Whig company, being opposed to General Jackson, assented to the judge's remarks. On this I said, in conclusion, that I was sorry to find that all the old Federalists present had adopted Democratic principles, and I alone remained to vindicate the good old Federal party. This brought on a laugh, and the conversation subsided.

CHAPTER VII.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS.

NOTWITHSTANDING his professional and political labors, Dr. Warren found time to engage in other pursuits, of a literary and scientific nature. Soon after his return from Europe, he was invited to become a member of a private society for the study of natural philosophy, founded in 1801 by Dr. Kirkland, Judge Davis, and others. The members lectured in turn; and it must doubtless have been of great advantage both to Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson, who prepared the chemical lectures, in aiding to give them a facility in lecturing.

Some account of this society, which is frequently referred to in the Biographical Notes, may be considered interesting.

It was to be confined to ten members; the number not to be increased without the consent of the whole. These members consisted of John Davis, William Emerson, Nathan Frazier, James Jackson, John Snelling Popkin (then pastor of the church in Federal Street), Josiah Quincy, Timothy Williams, John Quincy Adams, and John Lowell. To these were added, the subsequent year, John C. Warren and John C. Howard.

A large sum was liberally raised for the purchase of apparatus and books. By the regulations, some book on natural philosophy was to be selected, from which a portion was read at every meeting; and this was followed by discussion. The members also delivered lectures upon such subjects as each deemed best suited to his taste or his powers. It was voted that one of the members should give a lecture of an hour long at each meeting of the society.

March 24, 1802. — "The Committee met, and proceeded, according to law, to make choice of lecturers for the ensuing year. The following gentlemen were appointed; viz., Judge Davis, Dr. Kirkland, Dr. Jackson, Dr. Howard, Mr. Channing, Mr. Higginson, John C. Warren.

"Dr. Kirkland signified his acceptance of the office of lecturer, and agreed to give six lectures on astronomy. Judge Davis agreed to lecture on some branch of natural history, — probably botany. Mr. Polluck agreed to lecture on entomology, unless the society should prefer experimental philosophy. Mr. Polluck engaged for five lectures. Dr. Jackson accepted the office of lecturer, and engaged to treat on the following subjects in chemistry; viz., those included in the seventeen first articles of Henry's "Epitome of Chemistry," on which he agreed to give ten lectures in the winter course. Dr. Warren engaged to give ten lectures on that branch of natural history composed of human and comparative anatomy and physiology.

"Mr. Higginson accepted the office of lecturer, and

engaged to give five lectures on mechanics, in the summer course." The President agreed to give ten lectures on botany. Dr. Howard agreed to give five lectures on chemistry.

In this society, Dr. Warren took for one of his subjects an analysis of the water of Boston. He found that such an analysis had been already attempted by Monsieur Feron, a friend of Dr. John Warren, who belonged to the French army or navy. He bestowed much time on this subject; and presented to the society, in so striking a light, the impurities of their well-water, as to make a permanent impression upon the minds of some of them. For himself, he says, he never ceased to think on the subject, and to speak of it as opportunity presented. About the year 1820, he procured a petition to the Legislature for bringing in water, which was signed by the principal part of the physicians in Boston. Mr. Patrick T. Jackson offered at that time to bring in the water by a company formed by himself, provided the City Government would give him the management and the profits of it. They refused; and the citizens were destined to wait thirty years longer for this copious source of health and comfort. Dr. Warren attended various meetings on this subject; wrote a number of articles; was once before a Committee of the Legislature; and finally attended the celebration of the commencement of the works at Lake Cochituate, and its consummation in Boston on the 25th of October, 1848.

This society continued in existence until July or August, 1807; when the principal part of the apparatus was sold to the Boston Athenæum, and the proceeds divided among the members. The greater part of the chemical apparatus was taken by Dr. Gorham, a newly elected member: other members took the remaining articles.

Among other objects of attention in this society was the observation of the great eclipse, in 1806, by Drs. Jackson and Warren.

In 1803, also, Dr. Warren became a member of the Monthly Anthology Club, — a society of more public and general utility, and more permanent in its results, than the former. The "Monthly Anthology" was commenced and conducted by Phineas Adams for six months, but unsuccessfully, as far as profit went. Messrs. Munroe and Francis, the well-known publishers, applied to Rev. William Emerson; by whose exertions the ablest literary men in Boston were engaged in its support, and formed themselves into a society. Among its members were the highly gifted Buckminster, whose early death was so much lamented; William Smith Shaw, who took so ardent an interest in the formation and progress of the Athenæum, and was for many years Librarian; Dr. Kirkland, Rev. Samuel C. Thacher, Peter C. Thacher, and others.

The work was conducted with great ability for six years, and ten volumes were published. As justly said by President Quincy, it "may be considered as a

true revival of polite learning in this country, after that decay and neglect which resulted from the distractions of the Revolutionary war; and as forming an epoch in the intellectual history of the United States."

It was much to the honor of this small body of men, originally fourteen, that they did not pause in their labors, or content themselves with their magazine alone. A reading-room was required for the wants of the literary public; and this was soon instituted by their exertions. To this was subsequently added a library, and liberal donations from the members. Their earnest labors caused it to increase rapidly. There were six good circulating libraries in Boston. The Boston Library had been established in 1794; and it probably was supposed it would answer the full purpose of a circulating library for the time. The original object of the Anthology Club, therefore, was to establish a reading-room, and library of reference. From this beginning arose the Boston Athenæum. It may be worthy of remark, that the original founders of the Athenæum were content with a plain building of the least possible pretensions; centrally situated, indeed, where the Savings Bank of the Town of Boston afterwards stood. It was intended for the use and resort of studious literary men, and the kernel only was considered of value: little regard was paid to the shell. Books were not allowed to circulate until 1826.

Dr. Warren was co-editor of the "Anthology;"

but his increasing professional occupations seem to have prevented his taking an active part in the affairs of the Athenæum. In fact, owing to the death of some members, and the increasing business occupations of others, its management was left pretty much for many years to Mr. Shaw, to whose zeal and labors this institution is very greatly indebted, and to whom President Quincy has done justice in his History of the Boston Athenæum.

About this time, also, Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson formed a private medical society for mutual improvement, in conjunction with Drs. Dixwell, Coffin, Bullard, Shattuck, and Howard. This society met once a week, on Thursday afternoon; medical papers were read, and medical discussions took place. This society continued five or six years; and the members remained together until death removed all in succession, except Drs. Jackson and Warren. From this society, and principally from the exertions of the two last mentioned, sprang the Boston Medical Library, — a very useful institution, but finally absorbed by the Athenæum.

This society met once a week at each other's houses successively. Each, in turn, produced a medical paper, which was discussed by the members. They published various medical articles. A certain physician having become extremely obnoxious to the medical profession by his proceedings and writings in regard to various men and various subjects, and who had been considered uniformly successful in his

numerous newspaper controversies, they determined to follow him, notwithstanding his great tact in this course. They accordingly met him in the newspapers, and turned upon him his own weapon, — ridicule; by which they finally drove him out of the field. Their articles were published in the "Repertory," edited by Dr. Park, which afterwards merged in the "Daily Advertiser." Dr. Warren wrote an article on the cow-pock, or vaccine, intended to oppose and ridicule the appellation "kine-pock," which Dr. —— proposed to substitute for that of "cow-pock," the English name. Dr. Warren endeavored to show how ridiculous it was for a person in this country to pretend to alter a name given by its founder, then in Europe; to show also the absurdity of substituting a plural number for a singular: and that the proper nomenclature was easily derivable from the Latin name of cow; viz., *vacca*. Then the fluid inoculated would be *vaccine* fluid, the disease *vaccine*, the verb *to vaccinate*, and the inoculation itself a *vaccination*.

From that time, Dr. ——'s "kine-pock" began to fall into neglect, was soon thrown out by medical men, and is now altogether disused, except by a few persons in New England.

The Improvement Society lasted a number of years. Dr. Warren wrote many papers during its existence, and particularly one on the cholera of infants, with dissections.

About 1806, a Friday-evening Society was formed, having a social character; that is, having a supper.

The members read, in turn, some article on a scientific subject. There were about eight members of this society, among whom were Colonel George Gibbes; President Holley; Dr. James Jackson; Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, who was also a member of the Anthology Club; the Honorable Benjamin Vaughan, of Hallowell; a Portuguese philosopher, Don ——; and Francis C. Gray. This society lasted five or six years. Strangers were constantly in the habit of attending the meetings.

When the "New-England Medical Journal" was set on foot, a weekly meeting, composed of Drs. Jackson, Channing, Bigelow, Gorham, and Warren, was formed; to which were ultimately added Dr. George Hayward and Dr. John Ware. Papers were brought forward, read, and criticized, at this meeting; and measures for carrying on and improving the "Journal" were discussed and adopted.

About this time, an effort was made to get up meetings of the American Academy for scientific discussions; the meetings having till that time had merely a business character. A number of meetings were held, some of them in a room in the State House. But they ultimately fell through, and were not renewed till about the year 1845, since which they have met for social and conversational purposes monthly during the winter.

When Dr. Wistar was in Boston, about the year 1806, he came to the Friday-evening Club at Dr. Warren's. He was so much pleased with the pro-

ceedings, that, on his return to Philadelphia, he set out to form a similar society. This has continued until the present time; but has now lost the scientific part of the arrangement, and is a social meeting, comprising very large numbers of the most distinguished individuals.

CHAPTER VIII.

MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.

The Massachusetts Medical Society was established in 1781, with power to elect officers, examine and license candidates for practice, hold estate, and perform all the other actions, and possess the liabilities, of a body corporate, for ever.

In the following year, after several preparatory meetings, by-laws were enacted; a common seal was chosen; and Edward Augustus Holyoke, who died in 1829, at the age of one hundred, was chosen President. The society, at first limited to the number of seventy, was afterwards enlarged, so as to embrace, if they desired, all respectable practitioners in the State. The objects of the society were to regulate the practice of medicine in the Commonwealth, elevate the character of the profession, and raise the standard of medical education.

They published a collection of papers, forming one number, in the year 1790; but want of funds prevented their proceeding with further publications, until the energy of several newly added members gave a fresh impulse some thirteen or sixteen years after. Dr. Warren was admitted into the Medical Society

in 1803, and immediately began to interest himself earnestly in its welfare; he and Dr. Jackson stimulating the members to write, and undertaking the labor of publication.

In June, 1806, he communicated to this society a history of a wound of the femoral artery, containing some particulars of much interest.

A lad of fourteen, attempting to leap a fence, fell upon the pickets; one of which, half an inch in thickness, entered the upper part of the thigh. The blood flowed in a torrent, and he became insensible. He was revived by stimulating applications.

When seen by Drs. John and J. C. Warren, the next day, the hemorrhage had not returned. Arrangements were made to arrest it on the instant, if it should return. He seemed for some days to be going on well; but, on the twenty-ninth (the fifteenth day after the accident), the blood suddenly burst out while he lay in bed. In two minutes the compress was applied, and the bleeding arrested. He lost about a pint of blood. It being determined to tie the artery, compression was removed; but, to the surprise of all, the artery did not bleed. On the next day, many bleedings occurred, but were suppressed by the attendants. It was resolved to tie the femoral artery in the groin. About twelve ounces of blood were lost during the operation.

On the fifth day, a small gangrenous spot appeared; and, the day following, there was extensive separation of the cuticle, partial coldness of the limb, small

pulse, &c. On the seventh day after the operation, there was fresh hemorrhage, which recurred at intervals; and, in the evening, he died.

Dr. Warren draws three inferences from the case: 1. That the patient might have been saved, if the operation had been resorted to before the repeated hemorrhages had taken place.

2. That obstruction to the femoral artery, especially above the profunda, cannot always be produced without danger to the limb.

3. When nature has been left to operate the cure, and the hemorrhage is suspended, it will be a long time before the patient can be considered safe.

This history is valuable, also, as showing how far the efforts of nature will sometimes go in arresting dangerous hemorrhage. The patient in this case, though confined to his bed, was restless and turbulent; and neither he nor his parents could be made to realize his danger. It is probable, that, could perfect stillness have been enforced, a cure might have been effected by nature. Opium was directed, to keep him quiet for the operation. This was the first case of ligature of a large artery, after an accident, performed here.

In the following year (1807), he contributed an account of a case of strangulated hernia, — one of the most remarkable cases, if not the most remarkable, he says, of any which he ever performed. The patient lived many years after, in good health.

In 1805, Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson were ap-

pointed a Committee, by the Councillors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, for the composition of a pharmacopœia for the society's use. The work was finished, and the manuscript presented to the Councillors in June, 1807; and was ordered to be printed under superintendence of the Committee.

Before this publication, monstrous anomalies in the preparation and names of medicines existed in this State. By the aid of a very extensive catalogue of corresponding names, they introduced a correct nomenclature, and presented to physicians and apothecaries a uniform mode of preparation. It cost them a year's labor. It was finished and laid before the Councillors in June, 1807; and printed the year following.

"It was favorably received here and elsewhere, and was brought into general use. Its leading objects were to introduce a systematic nomenclature of medical substances, in conformity with the improvements in modern chemistry; to simplify medical prescriptions, by omitting obsolete and useless formulæ of foreign pharmacopœias; to bring into notice several indigenous articles in common use in some of our larger towns; to procure uniformity in the preparation and administration of medicines; in a word, to act as a convenient manual for the physician and apothecary. And these objects were happily attained." *

* Dr. Alden's Discourse, 1838.

The practice of vaccination had been introduced in this country as early as 1800.

So much mismanagement, however, prevailed in regard to it, that it was found necessary to correct the practice by some authority that could be relied upon. On the 3d of February, 1808, a Committee was appointed by the Massachusetts Medical Society to "inquire into the present state of the evidence respecting the prophylactic power of the cow-pock, and to report such measures as they may find to be expedient for establishing the practice on a safe foundation."

On this Committee were appointed Dr. John Warren, who had always taken an ardent interest in the subject; Aaron Dexter, James Jackson, and John C. Warren.

The Report was read on the 1st of June, 1808. It consisted of about fifty closely printed pages, going into an elaborate examination of the evidence upon the subject, and presenting, in the end, four resolutions, which embody in a compact form results, from the validity of which nothing has since occurred to detract. They contain all that is now known upon the subject; and the proper rules of action, from which subsequent experience has shown no reason to deviate. Controversies have since arisen as to the validity and permanence of vaccination: but nothing has really been shown to invalidate the opinions and rules contained in these resolutions, — that those who undergo the cow-pox are as perfectly protected as those who have had the small-pox; and that it is better to re-

vaccinate, in order to insure the certainty of the first vaccination.

It cannot be said that cow-pox is a better preservative against the disease than small-pox itself; or that it may not recur in some cases after cow-pox, as well as after small-pox.

In 1805, Dr. Warren removed to No. 2, Park Street; where he continued to reside for the rest of his life, — a period of over fifty years. During this year, he took a room over Mr. White's apothecary store (then No. 49, Marlborough Street), and gave public demonstrations in anatomy for the established physicians of Boston. They were resorted to by nearly all the younger part of the Boston Faculty.

In 1806, he was chosen Adjunct Professor in Anatomy and Surgery with his father; and this situation he held until the death of Dr. John Warren in 1815, when he was chosen Professor in his place.

Dr. John Warren, while surgeon of a military hospital in Boston in 1780, had commenced the first course of anatomical lectures ever delivered in New England; and, the following year, they were attended by the students of Harvard College. In 1783, President Willard proposed to him to accept the office of Professor of Anatomy, which office was created in reference to him; and he furnished a plan for a medical school, which was adopted. It is now a difficult matter to conceive the interest and attention with which a body of students, who were eager to avail themselves of advantages then rare, listened with

delighted attention during an extempore lecture of over two hours. Those who enjoyed this privilege describe the senior Warren as very eloquent.

One of the most important medical institutions to which Drs. Jackson and Warren contributed their aid and support — an institution invaluable for the harmony and union it has promoted for fifty years among the medical men of Boston — is the Boston Medical Association.

This association was formed in 1806. In the following year (1807), the Standing Committee, consisting of John Warren, Lemuel Hayward, and John Fleet, were directed to propose a code of medical police for the regulation of the members. They reported the following year; and their Report was adopted May 1, 1808.

The object of this report and the regulations is to produce good feeling, honorable conduct, and a high sense of moral feeling; and to prevent all unfair constructions and interferences among the members.

They encourage consultations in difficult and protracted cases, enforce the value of time and punctuality, recommend measures for avoiding the slightest attempts to depreciate the character of any other physician, and urge the necessity of avoiding any such inquiries or hints as may weaken the confidence of patients in those they employ.

The Committee condemn appeals to the public in case of differences among physicians; show that both

parties injure themselves by such appeals; and recommend measures for their private settlement when they occur.

The use of quack medicines is forbidden to each one; or of any secret nostrum, even of his own invention: "for, if it is of real efficacy, the concealment is inconsistent with beneficence and professional liberality; and, if mystery alone gives it value and importance, such craft implies either disgraceful ignorance or fraudulent avarice."

A fee-table is established; and, while gratuitous services to the needy are urged, wealthy physicians are discouraged from omitting to charge those able to pay, as this is an injury to their medical brethren.

Seniority is to be determined by the period of public and acknowledged practice of the physician in the town.

The Report bears the strong impress of the physician whose name is at the head of the Committee, by whom the preamble was undoubtedly written.

The code thus adopted has formed the basis of medical conduct in Boston for fifty years past. It has been cheerfully adhered to by the whole medical fraternity in this city, and has regulated the conduct of members towards each other and towards their patients.

To the observance of this code, the profession are indebted for the great harmony which has prevailed among them, and, indeed, throughout the State; for it has shed its influence over the Medical Society of Massachusetts.

In 1850, arrangements were made for dividing the Massachusetts Medical Society into district societies, subject, as branches, to the control of the parent society. In virtue of the by-laws formed for this purpose, the Suffolk District Medical Society, which includes Chelsea with Boston, took its origin.

As it was composed of nearly the same medical men as the Boston Medical Association, though under different officers; and as the interest of the members was kept up by stated meetings, — forming, in fact, a society for mutual improvement, — the existence of the Boston Medical Association was endangered. It was thought by many that the new society might take its place. Holding annual meetings, and for business only, the interest of the members had died away. Dr. Mason Warren, however, interested himself in the matter; and, by personal application to many of the members, succeeded in arousing their attention to the value of an association which had so strongly promoted the union and good-fellowship of the large body of physicians who composed it; an association which had the prestige of established rules, and of some antiquity. He was appointed chairman of a Committee, consisting of Drs. N. B. Shurtleff, John W. Warren, jun., and himself, for revising the rules and regulations. Dr. Jackson gave his concurrence and able assistance, contributing an Introduction. By his aid, and that of others, this valuable institution was rescued from dissolution, and has since continued in efficient action.

Feb. 1, 1809, Dr. Warren read a paper upon organic disease of the heart before the Councillors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, which was afterwards published. It was a subject which had then received little attention in this country or in England. In France, Corvisart and others were devoting much attention to it. Dr. Warren gives ten cases of a good deal of interest, exemplifying the symptoms of this disease, and the differences between this and hydrothorax. The first case is one of particular interest, as that of a Governor of the Commonwealth who died the previous year, and whose death was doubtless hastened by the anxieties of office.

These cases may be considered interesting upon another account. The researches of Laennec did not introduce auscultation until nearly ten years after this time; and although some physicians had been in the habit of applying the ear to the chest, and even Hippocrates is said to have done so, the sounds were not marked and systematized, nor was much reliance placed upon them. Since the introduction of auscultation, so much has been written upon it, that it may well be doubted, whether, in the brilliant glare of a new discovery, other means of diagnosis have not been too much neglected. It is well, therefore, sometimes to go back to observations which were made before the introduction of this method, when the older physicians were obliged to depend entirely upon other symptoms for diagnosis. Dr. Warren's cases are related with a clearness and simplicity that render

them interesting. His maxims with regard to value of time applied also to words. He never used unnecessary verbiage, or attempted a minuteness of description which darkened the subject. He always described in forcible language, and with as few words as possible.

Dr. Warren has given, in a portion of his Biographical Notes, an interesting account of the circumstances which gave rise to this communication.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In the year 1808, I was called to attend Governor Sullivan, who was then Democratic Governor of this State. He had from early youth been affected with epilepsy. Notwithstanding this affection, with which he was often attacked in public places, he became one of the most eminent men of his time as a lawyer and orator. He distinguished himself also as an author, having written a valuable account of the District of Maine. His sons, four in number, were early friends of mine, and have continued so. I suppose it was owing to their influence that I was desired, though just beginning practice, to attend the Governor of the Commonwealth.

He was subject to frequent attacks of cough and difficulty of breathing, followed by copious expectoration of mucus, and frequently of blood in quantities. He had, also, violent palpitations of the heart, and great shortness of breath on going up stairs. Under one of these paroxysms, his life seemed to be in danger; and I requested my father to see him in consultation. Among some remarks which he made, he dropped a suggestion of a derangement of the heart.

The moment he spoke the word, the whole subject flashed upon my mind. In 1801 and 1802, I had attended the lectures of Corvisart in Paris. He examined many bodies before us, used percussion, and pointed out organic changes in this organ. Amidst a multitude of other concerns, this account of diseases of the heart had slipped my mind, but was revived in the way I have mentioned. In England, the subject was so entirely unknown, that a patient in Guy's Hospital, dying of hypertrophy, or, as Corvisart called it, aneurism of the heart (the largest I have ever seen), was thought by the celebrated Dr. Saunders to have died of hydrothorax. The body was not examined by the physicians, but was left to me, who was a surgeon's pupil, and had no right to do it. With the aid of my friend Senter, I examined it, and got out this enormous heart, which is now preserved in the museum of the Medical College.

The symptoms of organic disease of the heart were not, indeed, unknown; but they were attributed generally to other causes than derangement of the heart itself. I studied Governor Sullivan's case very carefully, and immediately discovered all the symptoms mentioned by Corsivart and some others. It so happened, that, at that period, there occurred a train of the most remarkable cases of heart affection which I have ever had the opportunity of witnessing. In consequence of this, I felt myself encouraged to speak of them, with a view of explaining and introducing a knowledge of this disease. The Governor's illness made a great noise, from the very peculiar state of parties at the time. Of course, there was much conversation about this notion of organic disease. All the older physicians, except my father, ridiculed this "organic fancy," as Dr. Danforth called it.

In the month of December, 1808, the Governor died, with

full symptoms of organic disease of the heart. Permission was given to examine the body thoroughly; and I invited the principal physicians in town, most of whom came. Among them were Drs. Danforth, Rand, Jeffries, Dexter, my father, and Dr. James Jackson. I proceeded to examine the body with tremulous confidence, knowing that some of the gentlemen present held a different opinion, and confidently expected I should fall into disgrace and ridicule.

In the examination, I proceeded to point out the swelled limbs, purple visage, edematous eyelids, the water in the thorax and abdomen, congested lungs, all of which belonged to the train of organic changes. But the heart was yet untouched. I then stated that the heart would be found enlarged, the left cavities increased in capacity, and the origin of the aorta, with its valves, ossified to a considerable degree. I then made a small aperture in the left ventricle, which was full of coagulated blood; and, passing the finger into its cavity, sought for the aortic aperture. This was very much contracted, and surrounded by a bony ring extending through the aorta to the valves. The heart was enlarged, and its cavities extended; the parietes thickened. The other gentlemen examined successively, and were all satisfied of the change of structure.

The subject was soon after illustrated by the appearance of Corvisart's work in this country. In England, the knowledge of these complaints became more slowly diffused than here; but, since that time, they have been very much studied, and are now well understood. Since that time, also, percussion and auscultation have been generally introduced.

At that time, we supposed, or, at least, I did, that all confirmed organic diseases of the heart were necessarily fatal. But, after a few years' experience, I began to see that pa-

tients might recover under proper management; and, of late years, it has been rare for me to see a patient die of this disease. The course of treatment I have found successful is the following: —

I. Diminution of food.
II. Abstinence from animal food and all stimulants.
III. A mild mercurial course continued for a year.
IV. Counter-irritation over the cardiac region.
V. Small bleedings from the arm.
VI. Mental and bodily tranquillity.

In 1806, a disease of peculiarly fatal character appeared at Medfield, in this State, and was known under the name of "spotted fever." It prevailed in the high land of Worcester County; afterwards came to Cambridge, and in some degree to Boston. The eruption, says Dr. Warren, was perfect, was magnificent. It had the form and aspect of the spots of a leopard, in some cases. The disease was called a cold fever; and the pathological phenomena consisted in congestion of the brain and lungs. All the diseases of the period were impregnated with, and bore the stamp of, this affection.

Hot external applications in the beginning, bleeding in the re-active stage of the disease, and cordials in the advanced stages, were employed. The Medical Society appointed Drs. Welch, Jackson, and Warren to draw up a Report upon this disease. Circulars were addressed to every Fellow of the Society, and to other reputable physicians in whose vicinity it had prevailed, requesting answers to a list of questions

which were proposed. Communications were received in reply from twelve persons, all Fellows of the Society. Dr. Warren made many post-mortem examinations, the results of which were incorporated in the Report.

"Before the appearance of this pamphlet," says Dr. Alden, in his Address to the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1838, "the treatment had been, in many cases, empirical, and of course, in those instances, prejudicial. Active stimulants, opium, brandy, and steaming, were too often indiscriminately used; and it was the opinion of intelligent and cautious observers, that not a few of the individuals attacked died of the remedies rather than of the disease. After a full and careful investigation, it turned out, as might have been anticipated, that the disease was a highly congestive form of fever, varying exceedingly in its type, in different places and seasons, and requiring, like other forms of fever, an eclectic, rather than a specific, mode of treatment."

This Report was made to the society, June 20, 1810.

In 1810, the Professors succeeded in obtaining the removal of the Medical School to Boston. At the time Dr. John Warren commenced lecturing, it was necessary to cross by a ferry to Cambridge; or, in stormy weather, to ride round nine miles, through Roxbury. Cambridge Bridge, erected in 1786, facilitated the route: but still it was found a serious evil for a physician in full practice to ride daily to Cam-

bridge and back; and, as most of the pupils resided in Boston, it was equally inconvenient to them. There were also some objections made to under-graduates attending the lectures intended for medical students, as had been the previous custom. One of the senior professors resided at Cambridge; and this had, probably, delayed the removal.

These objections, however, were finally overruled or compromised, on the condition that lectures should also be given in Cambridge.

The hall over Mr. White's store was fitted up as well as circumstances admitted, and the lectures were given here for several years. As the number of pupils increased, the accommodations were found insufficient; and great exertions were made, particularly by Drs. Warren and Jackson, to provide a more ample arrangement. Application was made to the corporation of Harvard University for their aid in enlarging an establishment which was, in fact, their property. They agreed to apply to the Legislature for a grant of ten thousand dollars a year for ten years; with the condition, that, if this was obtained, the sum of twenty thousand dollars should be advanced for the building of a new college. By the aid of this provision (which gave three thousand dollars a year to Williamstown, and three thousand to Amherst), they succeeded remarkably well in obtaining this grant. The principal labor was done by Dr. Jackson and Dr. Warren. They applied to the members of the Legislature individually and personally; wrote pamphlets, and articles

in the newspapers; and omitted no honorable means to obtain the desired object. By the grant of this sum, the University was relieved from the great pressure under which it then labored. Great assistance was obtained from the Honorable John Lowell, of the corporation, and from President Kirkland. A lot of land was purchased, and a very substantial building erected and opened in 1815. Dr. John Warren, who had taken a very ardent interest in this matter, and given it every aid, did not live to see it completed.

CHAPTER IX.

MEDICAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

THE Medical School being fairly established in Boston, the next object was to obtain for the students the advantages of clinical instruction. As there was no Hospital, the Alms-house was the only place where the poor could be received, or diseases observed by medical pupils.

The old Alms-house in Boston stood on Park Street, together with a Workhouse and Bridewell, and a Granary. In 1800, a new Alms-house was built in Leverett Street. The professors solicited the privilege for the Medical School, of attending there. This was given, on the condition that the physician should attend gratuitously, and supply the sick with medicines. This was done for a number of years by Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson, — the former taking the surgical department, and the latter the medical.

In the mean time, they began to exert themselves to interest the public, and especially the wealthy men of the town, in the erection of a Hospital, to be connected with the School of Medicine. Dr. John Warren had already addressed a letter to Governor William Phillips, to interest him in this matter; and

Mr. Phillips ultimately agreed to give twenty thousand dollars, as appears by the following letter: —

Letter from Governor Phillips.

Boston, July 31, 1810.

Sir, — I am impressed with the importance of the subject upon which we have repeatedly conversed, — that of establishing in this town an hospital for the reception of lunatics and other sick persons. To place such an institution in a respectable and permanently useful situation, a large sum will be required. I will engage to pay to the Overseers of the Poor of the town of Boston, twenty thousand dollars, so soon as one hundred and fifty thousand dollars shall have been subscribed, for the erection of such an hospital, and one hundred thousand dollars of said sum actually paid to said Overseers, provided the inhabitants of the town of Boston shall discharge me from their demand against me, as the executor of my late honored father's will, for five thousand dollars, which he bequeathed to said town toward the building a hospital; as it is my intention that said legacy be included in said sum of twenty thousand dollars.

With respect and esteem,

I am, sir,

Your humble servant,

William Phillips.

John Warren, M.D.

A Circular was prepared and signed by James Jackson and John C. Warren, in which the want of a hospital, and its advantages over an alms-house, are very forcibly urged. However good may be the arrangements of such an institution, there are very serious evils which seem inseparably connected with

an alms-house. "Most especially they suffer from the want of good nurses. In the alms-house, they are selected from among the more healthy inhabitants; but, unfortunately, those who are best qualified will always prefer more profitable and less laborious occupations elsewhere. It must, then, be obvious, that the persons employed as nurses cannot be such as will conscientiously perform the duties of this office." The Circular goes on to show, in a forcible manner, the importance of a medical school in New England, and the absolute necessity of a hospital to a medical school.

This paper, which has been republished in Mr. Bowditch's history of the hospital, was drawn with great ability, and was well deserving of being rescued from the oblivion of a transient circular. The same reasoning which applied then may apply again. It probably has not yet been found possible to render alms-houses the most unexceptionable places for the treatment of the sick poor; and the same want which existed in 1810, when there was no hospital, may exist again in the city or the state, when there is only one hospital, and over six times the amount of population.

Application was also made to J. Perkins; Colonel Thomas H. Perkins; David Sears; William, Richard, and George Sullivan. All these gentlemen, and some others, exerted themselves; a spirit of liberality was excited in our community, and the way prepared for opening a general subscription. These and other

gentlemen called on every respectable individual in Boston, and obtained a sum of more than one hundred thousand dollars. This was increased by a donation, by the Legislature, of the Province House, — the ancient habitation of the Governors of this State, — which was sold for fifty thousand dollars; and, in 1818, the foundation of the hospital was laid by a Masonic fraternity, on the 4th of July. The east wing was first built, then the centre, and afterwards the west wing.

During the lapse of a few years following, legacies poured in from every quarter; and ultimately two additional wings and a kitchen completed the edifice as it now stands (1849). Some of these legacies were obtained partly through the influence of Dr. Warren.

Mr. Abraham Truro, a Jewish gentleman, having met with a bad fracture in being thrown from his chaise, experienced a fatal mortification of the leg. Dr. Warren was requested to inform him of his approaching fate, and invite his attention to his will. On doing this, he proposed to him to contribute to the hospital, to which he gave ten thousand dollars; and to the Humane Society, to which he gave five thousand.

Dr. Warren was instrumental also in interesting Mr. John McLean in behalf of the hospital, — he having a favorite servant under the surgeon's care in that institution. Mr. McLean bequeathed one hundred and twenty thousand dollars to the hospital; in

recognition of which, his name was affixed to the Asylum at Charlestown (now Somerville). From the character of those who had charge of the hospital, — who were persons of enlarged views, and mostly of liberal education, — the establishment assumed a different character from that of other similar institutions. In cleanliness, and in the perfection of its arrangements generally, it has surpassed every other establishment of the kind in this country and in Europe. Dr. Warren originally subscribed four hundred dollars; and, when the building was enlarged, five hundred more. Subsequently, he gave a thousand; the interest to be appropriated to the purchase of religious and moral tracts for such sick persons and convalescents as were able to read them. The distribution appears to have been faithfully accomplished, and is said to have done, and to be still doing, much good.

While Trustee of the Humane Society, he proposed to them to give their superfluous funds for the support of free beds in the hospital. This was done, and the donation continued for many years.

To the active practitioners of the present day, the phrase "College of Physicians," as applied to any New-England institution, must be entirely new. The idea of such an institution having ever existed, is probably long since forgotten.

It is now so long since the controversy on this subject passed away, that it may be regarded as mere matter of history; and, as such, there can be no harm

done by alluding to it. The history of the past is useful; and it is better to have facts related upon authority, rather than vague traditions, which may be used for bad purposes, whenever an individual or a class rise up so to apply them.

On the twelfth day of February, 1811, a petition was presented to the General Court of Massachusetts, signed by twelve well-known physicians. The sentiments here set forth appear plausible and well intended. They, however, involve a fallacy. "Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere;" and two medical societies, holding equal privileges, could not exist harmoniously together. Jealousies and rivalry must ensue. As it is short, it may be given in whole: —

THIS PETITION MOST RESPECTFULLY SHOWETH, That seeing health is a blessing which sweetens all our enjoyments; and long life that which all men naturally desire; so every thing that tendeth to secure the one, and leadeth to the other, is an object worthy the attention of this Legislature.

And considering, moreover, that, of the various methods of obtaining and diffusing medical knowledge, not one is found so effectual and desirable as a friendly and liberal intercourse and honorable associations of its professors; more especially when their end and aim is mutual improvement and the public good; and experience has proved that two literary and scientific societies produce more than double the advantage of one.

Influenced by these sentiments, we your petitioners pray the Honorable Legislature to constitute us, and such as may hereafter associate with us, a body politic and corporate, by the name and title of the *Massachusetts College of Phy-*

sicians; with such powers, privileges, and immunities as other medical associations, of the like nature and views, enjoy, under the same denomination, in several States of the Union.

And your petitioners shall, &c.

An account of this controversy is given as follows in the Biographical Notes: —

The connection of the professors with the Medical Society enabled them to unite the force of that body to that of the Medical School, for the advancement of medical science.

Before that time, the Medical Society uniformly opposed the progress of the Medical School. Drs. —— and other original members professed an opinion, that the Medical School should not interfere with the license to practise medicine. On this ground arose the first dispute.

At length the gentlemen alluded to left the society; and the existing generation — composed of such men as General Brooks, Dr. Fisher of Beverly, and others — united with them, in order to form a solid union, and to prevent the collision of separate bodies. The professors, some years after, proposed a set of articles providing for the examination of all medical students for practice by a joint Board. The proposal, though perfectly fair, excited some jealousy; and the plan was abandoned, never to be revived. The society lost the opportunity of influencing all the medical examinations, and of basing them on principles which were sound and practicable. They also lost a large number of licentiates; as young men naturally preferred the medical degree of the University to a mere license to practise.

No loss of good feeling, however, was experienced upon the part of the society: on the contrary, the professors of the Medical School continued to labor for the society, and were for some time its most active members.

A great excitement was produced by the effort on the part of a few physicians to get up a medical institution, independent of the Medical Society and the Medical School, combining the powers and privileges of both. They were to be authorized to give lectures, confer degrees, and to regulate, like the Medical Society, the practice of the profession generally.

The profession, the society, and the Medical School, opposed these measures. Political feeling would, however, have carried the proposed institution, but for the following circumstances: First, eight or ten physicians, of the Democratic party, voted with the Federalists. Second, the speaker (Honorable Judge Story), partly from his personal acquaintance with the individuals of the Medical School, and partly from seeing the inconvenience and injustice of the plan, was led to take a decided part against it. This gave me an opportunity of addressing him in a pamphlet of some length, styled a "Letter to a Republican Member of the House of Representatives." This letter was distributed to every member of the whole government, beside pushing it into every part of the community.

The third circumstance above alluded to was the personal application of the members of the Medical School, with Dr. John Warren at their head, who was also President of the Medical Society at that time. They waited on the greater part of the members of the General Court of both parties, and conversed with them individually.

The members were also invited to attend the lectures in Marlborough Street, where they became acquainted with the Medical School, and imbibed an interest in it, which led to the grant of the sum of money, elsewhere spoken of, to the University.

A Committee of the society and of the Medical School,

with Dr. John Warren at their head, supported by General Brooks, Drs. Dexter, Townsend, Childs of Pittsfield, Kittridge of Andover, and the large body of the most respectable veteran members of the profession, met the Committee of the House of Representatives in the Senate Chamber. They were addressed by most of the gentlemen above named, and by others.

The conference was quite imposing. The chamber was crowded with spectators; and the venerable character of the opposers of the memorial, or petition, altogether produced a strong impression. Dr. Jackson and myself were present to supply the materials for their seniors to work with. The subsequent discussions in the Senate and House were violent, but highly favorable to the Medical School. The community took deep interest in the affair. The debates were protracted for a week or ten days, during which no other business was done.

On the question being taken, there were two hundred and nine in favor of the memorial, and two hundred and eighteen against it. A reconsideration was moved by the minority for the next day, which was carried; and, in the mean time, the memorialists scoured the country, and brought in some additional votes, diminishing the majority: but this majority, though small, being quite decided, the affair was considered settled; and great was the joy of the Medical School.

If the result had been different, there would have been two medical schools at this day in Boston; and the consequence would have been, that qualified persons, in successful business, would have declined the chairs, and they would have been filled for the most part by young aspirants, who labored for money only, and who would have quitted an unprofitable concern as soon as they found they could do better.

The results of this combat were, on the one part, a successful medical school; on the other, the elements of a hostility which showed itself whenever it could do so with effect. Among the fruits of the latter was an interference in getting subjects, which was very unpleasant. The controversy was carried on with great warmth in the newspapers of the day.

No further attempt was made to get up a second medical school until many years after.

A very important and interesting society, of which Dr. Warren has given no account, and in which he held office, was the Washington Benevolent Society, formed about the year 1812.

The preamble to their Constitution describes the subscribers as having associated for the "purpose of giving advice, assistance, and information to such American citizens as may stand in need thereof."

After expressing their admiration of the singular ability and pure intentions with which the measures of government had been conducted under the guidance of George Washington, and alluding to the commercial and general prosperity produced, and the respect acquired among foreign nations by those measures, they refer to the dangers which may arise from a corrupt administration, and from the evil designs of ambitious men, who will attempt to mislead the understandings and inflame the passions of the people. These designs can be counteracted only

by honest zeal in the cultivation of public intelligence, animated by public virtue.

"We hold it to be always a right, and sometimes a duty," they say, "to assemble and deliberate upon the state of public affairs, to acquire and to impart knowledge, and to increase the ardor of our patriotism by the warmth of our social attachments.

"We will use our best endeavors to support the Constitution of the United States in its original purity; to have the government administered with fidelity, wisdom, and ability; to oppose all encroachments of democracy, aristocracy, or despotism; to maintain the Constitution of the Commonwealth; and, with all our strength, to oppose the establishment of any usurped power therein."

Besides the obligation to exert themselves for the due administration of government, and for advancing the general welfare, they declare the object of the society to be, to supply the wants and relieve the sufferings of unfortunate American citizens within the sphere of their personal acquaintance. "To keep constantly awake our feelings of compassion; to inspire us with a confidence that we should ourselves receive assistance from our brethren, if, by any unforeseen calamity, we should be reduced to distress; and to increase our means of doing good to our fellowmen, — we have formed ourselves into a society."

The qualifications for membership were a good moral character, and a firm attachment to the Constitution of the United States. Each member was to

pay two dollars upon his admission to the society, for the purpose of forming a fund for the objects mentioned.

This society, it will be observed, was formed about the commencement of the war of 1812, when property of all kinds was entirely uncertain. The embarrassments of commerce, or the depreciation of public stock, might at any time reduce the wealthiest individual to beggary. Real estate even was not secure from the invasion of a foreign foe, and dangers might be apprehended even from the violence of party mobs. The insurrections of Shays and others were still fresh in the minds of most men. Not only buildings might be burnt, but the records of property might be destroyed. The history of this society itself affords a striking instance of the insecurity of all investments.

It was therefore peculiarly appropriate to the circumstances of the time, to form a society, the members of which should be bound, not only to constant exertions for the support of order and good government, but also to assist each other in case of unexpected reverses.

General Arnold Welles, who was closely connected with the family of Dr. Warren both by the ties of marriage and of friendship, was the first President. Among the Vice-Presidents were William Sullivan, Honorable Josiah Quincy, John C. Warren, and Benjamin Russell. The Honorable John Welles was Treasurer. Lemuel Shaw, Esq., was Secretary.

The society was first known by the name of the "Washington Association." Their Annual Meeting took place upon the 22d of February, and they had an oration in honor of Washington. Soon after, the name was changed; and it was determined to fix upon the 30th of April — the anniversary of the inauguration of the first President — for a public celebration; probably because that season of the year was better suited for parade and display. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and staff, the clergy, the Government of Harvard College, and all who held places of honor and distinction, were invited personally to attend. Among them we find the names of Caleb Strong, Christopher Gore, John Brooks, Isaac Parker, John T. Kirkland, James Freeman, William E. Channing, and Joseph S. Buckminster. The Boston Light Infantry, the Winslow Blues, and the Washington Artillery, volunteered their services.

They assembled in the State House, and, preceded by the Infantry Companies, marched in procession to the Old South Church. Banners were provided, having for their mottoes, "Independence," "Union of the United States," "Commerce," "Peace," "National Glory." One hundred youths followed, dressed in uniform, decorated with wreaths and garlands, each bearing upon his breast a small but elegant copy of Washington's Legacy. The Washington Artillery brought up the rear. An oration was delivered by the Honorable William Sullivan; and odes, written for the occasion, were sung.

There was an earnestness and reality in such a celebration in those days. Military pomp was not mere show. The soldiers were men who might soon be called upon to sacrifice their lives for their families and hearths. Additional solemnity was given to the procession by the attendance of the large body of distinguished men, a few only of whose names have been given above. It was a time when it might be feared, with just reason, that not only the principles, but the very name, of Washington might be brought into contempt by the extent of democratic principles, and the popular furor in favor of a rival and successor.

Societies were speedily formed, upon the same model, in the other towns of New England, and soon extended even to the Southern cities. One of the earliest was in Portsmouth, in which we find the name of Daniel Webster, as one of a Committee to mature resolutions for forming a Constitution upon the model of that of Boston. Others were formed in Cambridge, Charlestown, Plymouth, and shortly after in Baltimore, and other cities at the South. These societies embraced all the leading men of the Federal party. In February, 1814, we find the number of the members of the Boston Society, initiated and paid, to be sixteen hundred and forty-seven.

These societies held no ulterior or secret views: to support the Federal Constitution, to honor the name and preserve the principles of Washington, to support the State Governments, and to assist the destitute,

were the sole objects of their association. Although these men had exerted themselves with all their powers to avert the war of 1812, yet it was proved by subsequent events that they were the most prompt in defence of their native land, and the first to appreciate the services of those military and naval officers who won honor for themselves and their country by the faithful discharge of their duties.

In September, 1812, the society sent a vote of thanks, accompanied with a letter of congratulation, to Isaac Hull, late commander of the "Constitution" frigate, on occasion of his brilliant victory over the British frigate "Guerriere." In December of the same year, similar marks of approbation were sent to Stephen Decatur, on occasion of his "glorious" victory over the "Macedonian;" and to Captain Jones, of the sloop "Wasp," for his brilliant victory over the sloop "Frolick."

The reply of Hull was as follows: —

BOSTON, Sept. 12, 1812.

GENTLEMEN, — I have had the honor to receive your address of the 10th September, covering the vote of the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts, on the capture of the British frigate "Guerriere" by the "Constitution," under my command.

To receive the approbation of a society composed of so respectable a portion of the citizens of the third city in the Union, and through a channel so highly respectable as your Committee, is to me flattering in the highest degree; and I should be wanting in gratitude were I not to acknowledge the honor done me.

Permit me therefore, gentlemen, through you, to make known to the society, of which you are members, my feelings of gratitude; and I pray that they may be assured, that if my feeble efforts have contributed towards the advancement of a naval establishment, or have in any way been serviceable to my country, I feel that I am more than compensated by the strong testimony I have received from my fellow-citizens of their approbation.

Accept, gentlemen, my warmest thanks for the very friendly and polite manner in which you have been pleased to communicate to me the vote of the society, and my best wishes for your individual health and happiness.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

ISAAC HULL.

(Addressed) ARNOLD WELLES, WILLIAM SULLIVAN,
FRANCIS J. OLIVER, HENRY PURKITT, Esquires.

Decatur's answer is more concise: —

NEW YORK, Jan. 8, 1813.

GENTLEMEN, — Your favor of the 10th of December, enclosing the vote of the Washington Benevolent Society, has been received. It is highly gratifying to me to know, that, in the discharge of my official duty, I have been thought to merit the approbation of such a distinguished body. I beg you, gentlemen, to accept the assurance of my warmest gratitude for the very flattering sentiments contained in your letter.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient, humble servant,

STEPHEN DECATUR.

(Addressed) ARNOLD WELLES, WILLIAM SULLIVAN,
FRANCIS J. OLIVER, HENRY J. PURKITT, Esquires.

The following is the reply of Commodore Bainbridge to a similar communication: —

UNITED-STATES FRIGATE "CONSTITUTION,"
BOSTON HARBOR, Feb. 27, 1813.

GENTLEMEN, — I have received your communication, enclosing the vote of thanks from the Washington Benevolent Society of Massachusetts to myself, and the officers and crew of the United-States frigate "Constitution," for capturing the British frigate "Java." To receive the applause of so numerous and highly respectable body of our fellow-citizens for having done merely our duty, cannot be otherwise than grateful to our feelings, and will stimulate our exertions to future deeds.

For the friendly sentiments, gentlemen, which you, as a Committee, have expressed towards myself and other officers of the navy, please to accept my thanks, and best wishes for your happiness.

I am very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

(Addressed) General ARNOLD WELLES, WILLIAM SULLIVAN, Esq., FRANCIS OLIVER, Esq., Colonel DANIEL MESSENGER, Dr. JOHN C. WARREN.

It is an illustration of the precarious condition of all property at this period, that no safer investment of the funds of the society could be found, than in the notes of those members who were considered perfectly responsible. The trust was declined by most of the members; and those who accepted it, did so from a sense of duty, and to their own loss: so that, even under the management of one of the ablest financiers in Boston, a large sum was lost by the unexpected

failure of a firm whose notes were held by the Treasurer.

As the society increased in numbers, the celebrations grew more and more brilliant every year. General Welles, Josiah Quincy, E. T. Channing, Timothy Bigelow, successively delivered the orations.

The most brilliant celebration, and probably the last, took place upon the anniversary succeeding the peace. The standard of the rising generation was borne and supported on this occasion by four hundred youths in uniform, decorated with wreaths and garlands, and each bearing upon his breast, as on previous occasions, an elegantly bound copy of Wash ington's Legacy. The address was delivered by the Rev. Horace Holley.

The society held together a few years longer; but the dangers, which had given it its origin and supported its vigor, had disappeared. Its objects seem fully to have been attained. The name, if not the principles, of Washington, grew, and still grows, in esteem more every year. Individuals of all parties and opinions combine to render it respect; and to speak lightly of his name, is to incur universal censure. The Constitution, also, has been held in honor; has stood severe shocks, and become confirmed by time. The principles of the Washington Benevolent Society survived the dissolution of that body, and leavened the opinions of those most opposed to them.

The physicians who preceded Dr. J. C. Warren

and Dr. Jackson, had been too entirely occupied in the daily routine of professional duties, and in the all-absorbing political questions of the day, to devote much time to medical literature.

Now, however, a new era in the medical history of New England had arrived. Dr. Jackson was chosen Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic, in 1812; Dr. Gorham was Adjunct Professor in Chemistry; and Drs. Bigelow and Walter Channing received professorships a little later. Probably there can nowhere be found in medical biography an instance of greater unity and good feeling, than prevailed among these gentlemen for the whole period of their connection with the College; until, in fact, increasing years, and the claims of extensive practice, caused them, one by one, to retire from the labors of the chair.

It is impossible here to avoid the remark, how difficult it is to introduce the name of Warren, without that of Dr. Jackson also, in all these efforts for the advancement of medical science! It is difficult to say whether the warm-hearted zeal of Dr. Jackson, or the unwearied energy of Dr. Warren, first started a particular project: whichever started one, the other was never behind. Had they acted in opposition, how much they might have injured each other! how entirely their efforts for the public good would have been neutralized! Acting in concert, each aided to extend the business, the profits, and the reputation of the other, without injury to himself.

The establishment of a medical journal to open a vehicle for medical improvement, to form a repository for such observations as might be made, and with the design also to aid the Medical School; was first proposed by Dr. Warren. Dr. Jackson agreeing, they invited Drs. Gorham, Bigelow, and Channing to unite with them. Each contributed papers from time to time, and divided the labor of getting up the numbers. It was published quarterly. This work was very useful to the Medical School, inspired many physicians with a taste for observation, and was useful as a medical history of the times. Drs. Hayward, Ware, and Webster afterwards became connected with it, and formed a club, which met every month, to read and judge of articles, having a slight supper to aid them in their deliberations. The editorship finally passed entirely into the hands of Drs. Ware and Channing. The subscription was small, and the work hardly paid its way. It was continued, however, to the seventeenth volume; and, in 1828, it was on the point of dying out, when it was proposed to purchase a weekly medical journal which had recently been established, and unite the two.

The first number of the "New-England Medical Journal" was published in January, 1812.

It commences with "Remarks on Angina Pectoris," by Dr. John Warren, — one of the few medical papers which he wrote. The next is a very valuable paper upon the "Morbid Effects of Dentition," by James Jackson, republished in the "Boston Medical

and Surgical Journal" in 1828. Then follows an article on Bichat, probably editorial.

The "Cases of Apoplexy, with Dissections," by John C. Warren, afford two instances in which the stomach, after death, was found filled with indigestible food, and evinced some appearances of inflammation in this organ, with marks of commencing digestion. Dr. Warren urges the opinion, that the food in the stomach was the cause of death, notwithstanding the assertion of John Bell, "that the stomach never affects the head." He, therefore, is in favor of emetics in cases of this kind, and, in the second number of the "Journal," gives a case furnished by Dr. Fisher, of Beverly; in which, upon exhibition of an emetic, large pieces of beef were thrown up, and the man recovered.

He says in conclusion, "When, therefore, we find a patient, affected with this disease, soon after taking a large quantity of food, and whenever we find him inclined to vomit, an emetic should be administered. It has been objected, that the exertions in vomiting prevent the return of blood from the brain, and thus increase the causes of rupture in the blood-vessels. This objection is well founded, but not of sufficient magnitude to counterbalance the advantages from evacuating the stomach; for no objection can be of importance enough to prevent our removing the cause of the disease: and we can hardly conceive that any plan of cure can be adequate, that does not comprehend the removal of that cause, which still

exists, and must still operate. This difficulty seems to be somewhat lessened by the fact stated by writers on this subject, that hemorrhage from the lungs is not aggravated, but even sometimes restrained, by the operation of an emetic. Now, this organ is, no doubt, more violently agitated and compressed by the operation of an emetic than the brain. It is well known, also, that certain cases of uterine hemorrhage are cured, and that abortions are sometimes arrested, by the effects of this remedy. The use of emetics does not, so far as we can discover, interfere with the practice of blood-letting."

The quotation has been carried to this length, because it affords a specimen of sound reasoning, and shows a general state of opinion at the time, that we look back upon with some surprise.

John Bell inquires, "*By what mechanism, or what nervous sympathy, could the stomach affect the head?*" And the manner in which this paper was received by other physicians shows that the connection between the stomach and brain was a novel idea; and it is advanced with some diffidence by the writer himself. This must have been a few years before dyspepsia became fashionable. Since then, the responsibility of the stomach for headaches, and nearly all other diseases, has been fully recognized.

Our ancestors ate hearty meals, and sometimes drank heartily too, without any idea that what they put into their stomachs would give them headaches, fevers, or apoplexy. Afterwards, all diseases were

referred to the stomach. Whether this organ had more than its share of blame, seems to be a disputed question; and, of late, the modern term "neuralgia" has rather superseded "dyspepsia" in popularity. The nerves of the stomach have lately been found to become irritable and capricious, and this, full as often, when the organ is kept free from repletion as when overloaded. Yet Dr. Good originally made only two species of neuralgia, — neuralgia of the face, and neuralgia of the foot.* Now, wherever there is a nerve, it may be the subject of nerve-ache. "Neuralgia" is as satisfactory a term as "dyspepsia." To tell a patient he has an indigestion, would never satisfy him: and to say that a disease is upon the nerves, implies that the patient is nervous; meaning, by a very strained interpretation, a *malade imaginaire.* But the term "neuralgia" is as satisfying as "dyspepsia."

Dr. Warren always through life continued to pay great attention to the state of the stomach. If this was kept free, and not compelled to undue exertions, especially, when some lesion of a distant part produced a disturbance in the system, every other function would go on better. The majority of surgical diseases are the cause or the result of inflammation. The fire is kept up and increased, by stimulating food, or by too large a quantity.

In addition to every prescription, therefore, he

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* *Nosology.* — Dr. Good subsequently added neuralgia mammæ.

seldom failed to write the direction, "Abstain from animal food and butter." He made articles of diet his particular study; and often, by a careful regulation of these articles, he avoided the necessity of prescribing medicines. The custom of giving little medicine has been fully introduced of late, and directions for low diet are generally enforced; but very few physicians, if any, have made so much of a science of the regulation of food, and the composition of articles of diet for the sick or the convalescent.

In the first volume is also found "Cases of Organic Diseases of the Heart and Lungs," in which Dr. Warren continues the subject of the treatise before mentioned, and proposes to give from time to time a few of the numerous cases which were then presenting themselves. He gives one case of aneurism of the aorta, one of opening in the mitral valve, and one case of disease of the lungs. To the second volume he contributed "Observations on some Diseased Eyes," containing cases of ophthalmia, protrusion of the iris, &c. This latter case was cured by the application of lunar caustic to the iris, and the sight was preserved.

He also furnished a paper of collections of morbid anatomy, designed to induce others to furnish observations which were to form a distinct department of the "Journal." This paper contains cases of inflammation of the pericardium and inflammation of the pleura. The first case described, he states, is precisely similar to that of Mirabeau, who died of the same

disease (pericarditis), and whose case is described in the same number of the "Journal."

In the third volume, he gives an account of the appearances on examination of ancient dislocations of the two ossa humeri in the same subject. In this case, both shoulders had been dislocated a long time previous to his death.

Some further observations on disorders of the eyes, in the fifth volume, and, in the twelfth volume, "A Case of Aneurism cured by Ligature of the external Iliac Artery," appear to be all to which he has attached his name. This, of course, does not include editorial articles.

That this "Journal" was ably supported, and held a high rank, cannot be doubted. It was, however, not a profitable concern; and, as the editors became more engrossed in medical practice, they had less leisure and inclination to manage it. After reaching the seventeenth volume, says Dr. Warren, "We got tired of it." A journal of lighter form and more frequent appearance was thought better suited to the wants of the time. The "London Lancet" had given this form great popularity. The "New-England Medical Journal" was continued until 1828, and then merged in the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal."

The following letters, received by Dr. Warren in the course of this year, are of considerable interest.

The first, from President Kirkland of Harvard College, shows the manner in which medical stu-

dents were admitted. Those who had not received the degree of Bachelor or of Master of Arts were required, as at present, to pass an examination in Latin and natural philosophy; and it appears to have been a question at this time for the President to decide by whom this examination should be made.

Dr. Francis Moore and Dr. Thomas Sewall took their medical degrees in 1812. As they had not previously received the degrees of Bachelor or Master, they were required to pass an examination in the manner mentioned. Dr. Sewall became Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in Columbia College. He practised in Massachusetts long enough to become a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society; and afterwards removed to Washington, where he practised with great success until his death in 1845. Dr. Moore became also a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, but afterwards removed to the State of New York. The degree of M.D. appears to have been first conferred by Harvard College only the year previous (1811). Before that time, the degree of Bachelor of Medicine only was given. The vacant professorship was promptly filled by the choice of Dr. James Jackson, who occupied the chair until 1836.

The work of Dr. Wistar, to which reference is made in his letters, is the treatise on Anatomy, which was adopted as a text-book by the Medical Faculty of Harvard, and used for so many years as the main work for students in that branch of study. The

letters of Sir Astley Cooper are fine examples of the forcible brevity of his style, and evince the esteem and interest which he felt for his former pupil.

The letter of Mr. Harrison, besides his humorous allusion to the danger of witnessing military parades, illustrates two great objects which occupied the attention of scientific men and inventors at that period. The first was the discovery of perpetual motion; for which a high reward was offered, notwithstanding the declaration of the most competent judges as to its impossibility. One of great ingenuity, whether the same or not as that referred to in the letter, was put in operation in this neighborhood. It for some time defied investigation, but was eventually found to be worked by an agent concealed in a cellar. The other object was a method of warming the large cold houses of the time. Furnaces were not introduced until many years after; and, as wood became scarce, the large fireplaces, with large open-mouthed chimneys, became entirely insufficient. After many inventions of various kinds, a soapstone fireplace was constructed, with a back sloping forwards, so as to allow very little room for the escape of heat; and this principle has been adopted in all modern fireplaces and grates.

CAMBRIDGE, June 13, 1812.

DEAR SIR, — I consent to the examination of Messrs. Moore and Sewall at such time as the Faculty determine, and in such manner. I need not be present. I am satisfied with the Latin of both, and the natural philosophy of Dr.

Sewall. Dr. Moore's natural philosophy I shall be satisfied for you to examine and determine.

The Faculty of the University of Cambridge is without any Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic.

Dr. —— was removed by the corporation on the 20th of May; and, of course, he ceases to be Professor from that time: though, if the vote of removal shall be disallowed by the Overseers, he will then be in office again.

With esteem,

Your friend and humble servant,

JOHN T. KIRKLAND,

President Harvard College.

Dr. J. C. WARREN, Anatomical Professor Anatomy and Surgery, and Secretary Faculty of Medicine.

DEAR SIR, — I beg your friendly acceptance of the first volume of my publication on Anatomy, which I cannot offer you without accompanying it with a request that you will look with great indulgence on a work which has been composed under the pressure of a great deal of business not immediately connected with it. Permit me also to beg that your father and yourself will favor me with your advice respecting its future improvement. Any hint of that nature will confer a real obligation on, dear sir,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

C. WISTAR.

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1812.

DEAR SIR, — There is a gentleman in Boston of such a description, that I am certain you will derive great pleasure from his acquaintance. Mr. Correa is a native of Portugal, who has passed a great part of his life in the society of the most distinguished philosophical characters of Europe, particularly those of England and France. After a short

interview, you will understand his character; and I need say nothing further, excepting that he left us in company with Mr. and Mrs. Dashkoff, who are also very interesting strangers. If they should not be in Boston, you will probably hear of Mr. Correa from Captain Hull; as he came to Boston with that illustrious officer.

By one of the medical students who left this for Boston last spring, I had the pleasure of sending you the first volume of the anatomical publication in which I have been engaged. Please to favor me with a note to say whether it arrived or not, that I may send another in case you have not received it. I am interested in this request; for I hope to be favored with some advice and observations from your father and yourself on the subject.

We are much pleased here with your periodical work, — the "New-England Journal." The talents and the information which are displayed in it will commend it to the respect and attention of all well-informed physicians, and must establish its reputation.

Please to assure your worthy father of the continuance of my sincere regard and best wishes, and believe me

Very truly yours,

C. WISTAR.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12, 1812.

Dr. WARREN, Jun.

MY DEAR SIR, — This will be given you by Mr. Cary, who has a small hydrocele, for which I wish him to consult you. I have punctured it several times, as it was too small for injection; and, if it should remain small, perhaps you will think that the best mode of treatment.

I am glad to see you so zealous in the pursuit of science, and hope the *amor nummi* will never smother the love of

your profession as a science; for it is that rock on which medical men are shipwrecked in England.

With every good wish, believe me

Always yours truly,

ASTLEY COOPER.

DEAR SIR, — Mr. P. appears to me to labor under a *maladie imaginaire*, rather than any important disease.

He has unpleasant feelings about him, arising not from the use, but from the abuse, of mercury; and it will be a long time before he gets rid of them.

I should apprehend he would find much relief from the decoction sarsaparillæ and soda preparata, with an occasional aperient.

I feel much gratified in seeing the result of your progress in science, and of hearing of your welfare in your profession.

I am yours truly,

ASTLEY COOPER.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received, about three weeks after date, your letter of the 1st instant. The packet for Dorsey and letter for Edwin were immediately sent; and I've since had an interview with the latter, urged expedition, and tendered payment, as you suggested. The engraving will not be completed before March next. I found them busy engraving the likeness of Hanson, of Charles Street.

Had you recollected our positions the day of the Cadets' exhibition, independent of their firing at an angle of forty-five, we were not exposed. The *Horse* Marines, to which corps I have the safety to belong, are always cautious: and I took good care to watch closely their marching and counter-marching, and to constantly *wing* them; bearing in

mind, as I always do on these great occasions, that one of my precious fellow-citizens, who doted on military exhibitions, at one of them on our Common, had a ramrod gently passed through his g–ts.

I take it for granted your philosophers are much occupied with Redheffer's machine. Here 'tis almost the only topic; and all our scientific, practical, and mechanical men are decidedly of opinion it is a self-moving machine; and, if a deception, the deception cannot be discovered, as he took it down piece by piece, and put it up again, in the presence of twenty scientific and well-informed men. Such is the impression here, that our Councils have appointed a Committee to wait on him to ascertain if it can be applied to our water-works, and to buy the right. On the other hand, all our book-philosophers totally deny it, but admit it is a most uncommonly ingenious deception. But I take it for granted, Dr. Dorsey has given you all this, and a minute description of the machine.

As soon as the weather has become cold enough with you to test your fireplace, I hope to receive your opinion of its use; also your opinion of Mr. Mason's, and of the soap-stone stoves, such as there is one in use in your North-American Insurance Office. To your good wife I can only say, I *trust* she is well, and to tender her our affectionate regards, and to the family.

Very truly yours,

GEO. HARRISON.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 28, 1812.

In 1806, three years after his marriage, he has noted his own business as much increased, and having become very respectable. He was now, as we have seen, in addition to his daily routine of medical and

surgical practice and operations, aiding his father in the demonstrations and lectures at Cambridge, giving private demonstrations in Marlborough Street, and taking an active part in political and military affairs. He was contributing occasionally to the papers of the Medical Society, and engaged with Dr. Jackson in publishing their communications. He was an active co-editor of the "Medical Journal;" and, for lighter occupation, aiding in the labors of the Anthology Club, or preparing the chemical experiments, and lecturing on human and comparative anatomy and physiology in the Society of Natural Philosophy. At the same time, his literary employments were occasionally varied by a little light skirmishing in the public papers, in which the members of the private Society of Medical Improvement engaged with an adversary whose ready pen, and powers of ridicule, had hitherto met with much success.

His father continued to practise pretty actively until his last sickness in 1815.

CHAPTER X.

DR. JOHN WARREN. — MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL COLLEGE. — PROFESSIONAL EMINENCE. — OPERATIONS. — LETTERS. — INVITATION TO PHILADELPHIA. — SUMMER EXCURSIONS.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In 1815, the beginning of April, died my father, Dr. John Warren. He served in the army of the Revolution; laid the foundation of the Medical School at Cambridge; was for a long time an eloquent lecturer; and the principal, it might be said almost exclusive, practitioner of surgery in New England. He was President of the Medical, Humane, Agricultural, and other societies. He taught temperance by precept and example; having scarcely, through the whole of his life, drank wine or stimulants. He wrote very little, on account of the excessive business which he undertook; for, being the most popular practitioner in Boston of his time, he was occupied day and night. He went out to the very last week of his life; and the pleuritic disease which caused his death was attributed to his going out in the night.

Many of the last years of his life were disturbed by his lending his name as an indorser. This involved him in a vast purchase of eastern land, which required great attention, and caused him great anxiety. But for this occurrence, his property would have been nearly doubled.

Although I was well established in business at the time of his death, the loss of his advice and aid was very much felt; as I had from that time, for many years, no one to aid me in consultation in difficult surgical cases. All my

John Warren

Surgn & Phys.n Directing the Hosp.l

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operations were, of course, to be done on my own responsibility; and this with the weight of lectures, a large private practice, and some literary and scientific pursuits, which together constituted a mass of labor that sometimes seemed to be insupportable.

In this year was built the first Medical College, situated in Mason Street, the funds for which had been obtained principally by the exertions of Dr. Jackson and Dr. Warren. It was opened the succeeding year. Up to this time, the lectures had been delivered in the hall over Mr. White's apothecary's store, at 49, Marlborough Street.

Dr. Warren was now chosen Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in his father's place, and stood *facile princeps* among the surgeons of New England, as did Dr. Jackson among the medical practitioners; Dr. Jackson having early abandoned the practice of surgery. The elder Dr. Warren, as has been said above, had a more extensive practice than any one ever had before in Boston, or will ever be likely to have again. The number of medical men has so much increased, and their qualifications are so much more equal than formerly, that there cannot be any monopoly. It is not probable that any one will ever again have so much surgical practice as his son; or, at least, have so exclusively the command of all the most important surgical operations.

There are now more surgeons of equal claims and equal standing, and the relation of physician and pa-

tient has changed. The latter no longer feels bound to adhere to his physician or surgeon, but acts in accordance with the direction of St. Paul, "Prove all things." Nor, in like manner, does the practitioner feel bound to sacrifice himself, his health, or his comforts, even his life, to his patient. The connection was formerly like a close family tie; and it was a necessary consequence, that the attachment to the father descended to the son. Dr. Warren's connection with the College and the Hospital made him widely known, and gave him important advantages over competitors. These advantages, though very great, would have been unavailable, had they not been combined with unwearied industry and devotion to his profession.

It does not appear that he had any natural bias for his profession; for he informs us that he spent one year in deciding upon it. The second year, he speaks of it in his letters as time lost in the *pretended* study of medicine. The dry reading of medical books, without hospital visits, was not to his taste; and, if he visited patients with his father, he was not likely to be much interested, especially in visits so rapidly made; neither could the "medicine-room" have been much more attractive to a cultivated taste.

But, from the time of his arrival in Europe, he determined to devote heart and soul to his pursuit. As we have seen, he soon became deeply interested in operations, dissections, and lectures. Then he formed the resolution which he adhered to through

life, — never to devote a moment to any amusement that had not some useful object. From the commencement of his practice, he gave himself up entirely to his profession, and allowed himself no other recreation than science or literature afforded.

In one of his letters to his father, written from Paris in 1801, he says, —

"I hate study. Nothing but strong stimulus would have ever impelled me to it. And I suppose, that, could I lull my conscience with any good pretence, I should relinquish it, and become as idle as ever." In another place he says, —

"You had sufficient stimulus to study to overcome all obstacles. I require more, but have less."

In these words, we find an important clew to the character of the writer, and the secret of his industry through life. It was not the result of early habits of application. It was not like that of the horse at the mill, the clerk at his desk, the operative at his daily toils, or the student at his book. It was not the result of habit, of necessity, or of love for the pursuit he had chosen. It consisted in a constant series of mental efforts. Hence the wideness and variety of his pursuits, and the earnestness with which he plunged into every labor, as if that one was the most important in life. Had fate fixed him to a merchant's desk, it would have required either the stimulus of poverty or an intense love of gain to keep him there.

Having resolutely determined, on his arrival in Eu-

rope, to devote himself, heart and soul, to medical improvement, and made it an absolute rule never to waste time in any useless amusement, he acquired a fondness for his profession; and, after his return from Europe, he sought out constantly objects of interest and employment. In after-life, he had acquired a positive fear of idleness; and his taste for surgery, surgical operations, and anatomical dissections and preparations, had become very strong. The examination of a morbid tumor in his private dissecting-room, or the manufacture of a beautiful specimen, were as truly recreations with him, as a visit to the theatre, or a game of whist, to others.

But, in addition to this excessive industry, Dr. Warren possessed that temperament or power in which genius and talent consist, — the faculty and habit of throwing himself into his subject, whatever it was he engaged in, with his whole mind and strength. We rarely find so much tenacity of purpose and constancy, combined with so much devotion to the particular object on hand. This gave him his power as an able writer and interesting lecturer.

By those who wished to depreciate his claims as a surgeon, and who could not deny his success, it was said that he was a mere expert operator, and otherwise destitute of surgical skill. This remark was once made under rather peculiar circumstances. Some twenty years since, on returning in the evening from a public celebration at Cambridge, in

which Dr. Warren had been one of the speakers, about twelve of Dr. Warren's near relatives (in fact, his brothers and sisters, with their children) occupied an omnibus with two persons, — one a young physician from the South; the other a gentleman of property in Boston, well known to the family, though they were unknown to him. A discussion between the two ensued, which lasted nearly the whole distance, principally in depreciation of the claims of Dr. Warren, much to the edification of the family; the young medical gentleman allowing only the manual dexterity of the surgeon.

This, however, was the least of his qualifications. He did not aim at dexterity; at least, if celerity is a proof of dexterity. "I do not operate by time," he said to a spectator who took out his watch to ascertain the length of an operation: "you may put up your watch, Dr. ——."

Operations are said to be the opprobrium of surgery. None paid greater attention to this maxim than Dr. Warren. His higher skill was in detecting disease, and in treating it both before and after an operation. He perceived its seat with an eagle eye; and when, in after-years, his sight was partially impaired, still, by the delicacy of his touch, he could often discover the evil that lay concealed from the eyes of others.

It was said a quarter of a century ago, by an American physician settled in Paris, that, if he was obliged to undergo a surgical operation, he would come to

Boston to have it performed, he had so much more confidence in the after-treatment. Other Americans, in fact, all who had followed the surgeons of the French hospitals, would have said the same. They operated beautifully, but the test of cure was wanting. The French surgeons declared that healing by the first intention (which, as has been before said, Dr. Warren introduced into New England) was out of the question in their climate.

Dr. Warren never made up his mind to perform an operation until all probable means of cure had been fully tried. The patient, therefore, might always feel full confidence that he would never perform or advise one unless it was absolutely necessary. Having determined to operate, he prepared himself deliberately for it by reflecting in his own mind upon the method required; putting on paper a list of the contingencies that might occur, and of every instrument or article that might be wanted. In important cases, he resorted to authorities; and often practised the operation beforehand in the dissecting-room. Thus it was with him always a matter of study, greater or less, according to the importance of the case. He took pains also to avoid every thing which might interfere with the steadiness of his hand, the delicacy of his manual tact, or any thing that might disturb his mind or distract his thoughts.

He proceeded to the operation with the greatest deliberation and caution; taking care to be certain of the nature of every part or texture before he divided

it; assuring himself at every step that he knew exactly where he was. The slightest unfavorable change, either during the operation or afterwards, was seen by him instantaneously. This, at least, was the case in after-years. The operation performed, he proceeded to bandaging, which with him was also a science. Perhaps one of the greatest improvements which he adopted was in the little use made of the needle in closing wounds. By the use of adhesive straps, and skilful bandaging, these were often dispensed with; and thus the unpleasant necessity avoided of making additional painful wounds, and leaving a foreign substance to create irritation. Great use seems formerly to have been made of the needle; and, even now, patients or their friends, in the country at least, constantly speak of sewing up a cut as they would of mending a rent in an article of dress.

Thus it may be seen, to the satisfaction of every one, that the position which Dr. Warren now occupied was obtained and held, in the first place, by his diligent and earnest preparation in the study of his profession, and by availing himself to the utmost of the very great advantages which he had enjoyed abroad; in the second place, by his continued and unremitting efforts, not only to keep his ground, but to make progress, and advance his science. These exertions were never remitted to the last days of his medical career. If there were any who supposed that he fell easily and naturally into his father's place,

with little exertion of his own, or that he held his position without talents of a high order, and unwearied and exclusive devotion to his profession, they were utterly ignorant of his labors. The chair of anatomy and surgery had no soft cushion in his or his father's time.

Dr. Warren appears now to have been fully occupied with his lectures, hospital-visits, and operations, and his private practice. He does not seem to have published much for the next five years; but he always found time every day or evening, at least one hour, for writing.

The following very pleasant and entertaining letter from Dr. Roots, his fellow-student in London, was received in the early part of this year: —

My dear old Friend Warren! — On looking over some papers, I find your last letter, dated March, 1816; and, having written you a long answer very soon after, I am disposed to think you never received it. Therefore I will try my luck again; and will begin by hoping you and your *dear* wife are well, — I say *dear* wife, though she is unknown to me; but I feel a regard for her, in consequence of her being dear to you, I even feel a sensation bordering on parental love for your children; and though you, perhaps, will say this is a forced and romantic feeling, I encourage it as one that comes from the best and warmest corner of my heart, where you, my old boy, always had a berth from our first acquaintance, — well, I hope you are all as well in this new year 1818 as you were in 1816, and that you are going on as successfully in your professional pursuits as you can wish. I should like much to have a look at your old phiz.

I wonder whether you have the same solemn, serious gravity that formerly sat upon your countenance, and which I was often wont to put to flight by some of my volatile nonsense. And yet, though we were such different men, we always hit it well together. Poor Senter! I am not surprised at his end. I think he was a little too impetuous in his manner; and though his heart might be good, yet it is necessary that the outworks of the citadel should be kept in good repair, if we wish the keep itself to be respected. I have been during four or five months, the last summer, in a very bad state of health, in consequence of calculus forming in the bladder; but, by its showing itself palpably in the beginning of its formation, with the assistance of our old friend Astley Cooper, I was enabled to get it away by gradually dilating the neck of the bladder with very large bougies, and thus succeeded in dislodging so inveterate a foe. . . . About nine years ago, Astley Cooper cut my father for the stone; which operation succeeded wonderfully, and my father has never had a symptom of it since. But he has never tasted fermented liquor since; and, as this is an hereditary disease, I am upon the same regimen of restraint, and never, by any chance, touch a drop of any fermented liquor. Indeed, in my father's case, this abstinence from all such fluids has produced the happiest result; for, since he has thus left them off, he has never had one attack of gout; and, before, he never went six months without a severe fit of gout. Old Cooper, you have heard, I dare say, is dead. Astley is quite well, and continues daily adding to his fame. He lately had an opportunity of doing what no other man would dare do; which was tying the aorta of a man just before its bifurcation, in consequence of an aneurism of the internal iliac. He cut down the linea alba; groped his ponderous paws to the very vessel in question. Having shoved the intestines out

of his way, he passed a ligature, and the patient lived five days afterwards; and, as Cooper says, only died then in consequence of mortification, and not from his tying the aorta. He is now (woe to all stray dogs and cats that fall in his way!) trying the same experiment on all four-footed animals that chance throws in his dangerous way; and, I dare say, he sometimes longs to give a tie to one of his two-legged sufferers. I tell him, he has only now to cut off a patient's head, and keep him alive a few hours, so that he may say he only died from some little accidental circumstance, but not from the simple operation of dividing the head from the body, and then he will be more than human. However, he certainly is a most useful man: he leaves nothing to theory, but brings it all to practice, when opportunity offers; and this is the only way to improve the science. Clive goes on very soberly, and his son lectures with Cooper. He is in a bad state of health, — threatened with consumption. Austin, the West Indian, having realized a great fortune in Demarara, has come over to this country to settle as a private gentleman. He spent a day or two with me lately. I believe, just now, he is gone on a visit to Paris. My wife is well, and is the same good, endearing creature she was fifteen years ago, when I married her; and I can safely say, I love her now more deeply than I ever did at that young and sensitive period. I have only the same boy and girl I told you of before. I dare say, you have added to your five since you wrote. Direct your next to Dr. William Roots, Surbiton, Kingston on Thames. Both my father and mother are living and well: the brother (Charles), the proctor, is dead. He died at St. Lucie, in the West Indies, where he had got a good appointment; but the climate killed him. I never got any answer to any of my letters to Symons. I wish you would write to

him, and tell him how much I should like to hear from him. I hope our two countries will long enjoy the blessings of peace. As for peace in Europe, England now so entirely holds the master-key in her own hands, that there is every prospect of its long duration. Napoleon can't escape so readily from St. Helena as he did from Elba; and as for the Bourbons, they must do what we tell them. I spent a short time in Paris a little while back. But *Jack Frog* don't look very kindly on his friend *John Bull.* The fact is, he feels mortified and humbled: though, by the by, our people stopped too short in their career; for Jack Frog had got very insolent, and wanted his wings clipped a little more. However, we are now (tooth outwards, as is always the case with both countries) very good friends. I hope much you won't delay giving me a long account of yourself; and tell me if you think there will ever be any prospect of your paying a visit to England. Give my kindest regards to your dear wife. Kiss your children for me. If you have another boy, let me be his godfather. Call him William Roots; and then tell him, that, in conjunction with his father's name, he never can do a base action. With my best and most faithful wishes for the welfare of yourself and every branch of your family, my dear old Warren, believe me always

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

WM. ROOTS!

SURBITON, KINGSTON ON THAMES, Jan. 10, 1818.

In the year 1818, whilst Dr. Warren was in the full tide of a successful and rapidly increasing practice in medicine and surgery, he received an invitation to become a candidate for the Professorship of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. He has

given an account of this affair in his Biographical Notes, as follows: —

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

On the 22d January, in the year 1818, died Dr. Caspar Wistar, a distinguished Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. He was a person of excellent character, amiable manners, and had reached a high degree of eminence as a public lecturer. Soon after his death, I received letters from friends in Philadelphia, earnestly soliciting me to become a candidate for the place vacant by the death of Dr. Wistar. I took the matter into consideration; but, some time after, I received a letter from my friend Dr. Dorsey, a distinguished physician and surgeon in Philadelphia, informing me that he should be a candidate for the office, and intimating the wish that I should decline. On receiving his letter, I immediately wrote to him and to my other friends, informing them I should decline competition with Dr. Dorsey.

In November of the same year, Dr. Dorsey was seized with fever, and died after a short illness. The friends who had applied to me before, and various others, now renewed their applications in terms which demanded my most serious consideration. They thought that my position in Philadelphia would be more eligible and productive than that in Boston, for Philadelphia was considered as having the first medical school; as being, on the whole, the most agreeable city; and the receipts of the school would amount to not less than ten thousand dollars per annum to the Professor of Anatomy; — that I should be able, no doubt, to take a high stand in surgical practice, as the principal surgeon was too much out of health to make great efforts; and, independent

of him, there was an ample field of surgery in so large a city.

On the other hand, my friends and family in Boston were opposed to my removal, and presented to my consideration a number of objections, which are much better stated in the following letter than I can describe them: —

Letter from Harrison Gray Otis.

WASHINGTON, 12th March, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR, — The inducements for you to remove to Philadelphia, are, as I understand them, to be resolved into those of emolument, and those of ease. Taking it for granted that the income of the proposed place is not overrated, a consideration of some value arises, whether the same amount will go further with you than even your present professional gains in Boston. A man, I believe, may live as cheap in Philadelphia as in Boston; but not every man. It is a place of great style and fashionable exaction. You go there as a very conspicuous person. All eyes will be upon you. You will have new connections to form. With a great income, and considerable leisure, you will be expected to entertain. You will incline rather to exceed, than fall short of, the expectation. Your children must be lifted into the first circles by your own efforts, and must dress as well as other people's children. The summers may require a retreat in the country. The expense of removing is something; the loss of debts something. The emoluments, though their augmentation seems to be anticipated, *may* diminish; and whether the New-York institution, and the Baltimore institution, and the Boston institution, will not probably attract a portion of the students who resort to Philadelphia, when these shall have acquired more gristle, is

an inquiry to answer which nobody is more competent than yourself. In Boston, your practice might be lucrative; to what extent, I pretend not to know. And such is your vantage-ground, that you may very soon, if you cannot already, relieve yourself from much of the labor by choosing your patients, and declining a portion of your calls. You can also extend it, if you please. There is nobody nor nothing in your way. You are not called upon or expected to devote your time to company at home; and you command at your own pleasure your society abroad. Less money is requisite for the dress and education of your family. You may extend, diminish, or vary your expenditures every successive year. And, if you prefer becoming a mere professor and lecturer a few years hence, why not put together the materials that are collecting, and give to your own offspring the advantages of your own patronage and celebrity. Nothing but the determination is wanting to elevate your establishment to a level with those of any city in America. That your College or Association of Physicians, taking Philadelphia and Boston for standard, is composed of higher talents than theirs, is a fact of which I entertain not a shadow of doubt. My inference, on the whole, then, is, that it is, at best, doubtful, whether, at the end of a ten-years' exile from your native country, you would find yourself in greater affluence than in the old "head-quarters;" but, that you would part with more happiness than any addition to your coffers would compensate, I have no doubt at all. Then for the ease: if your calculation would be to attend merely to the duties of the chair, and decline practice, are you sure that you would not find it a tame and insufficient occupation? When the course is finished, should you not, in the long days, be inclined, with the Prince de Ligne, to conjugate the verb "ennuyer"? and

would you not often wish to dip your hands in innocent blood? Would you not look back with regret upon the many friends, of both sexes, whose experience of your professional skill and tenderness has made your residence among them, and their reliance upon your future aid, essential to their comfort, and to whom your removal will be a cause of unfeigned and permanent distress? Hearing of the illness, dangers, sufferings, of interesting beings among your family and friends; of the calamities "which flesh is heir to;" and realizing their vain longings for the aid of their wonted physician; thinking of the service you might perform, and certainly of the consolation you might afford, — would you be at your ease? I think not. You would fly again to your practice. You would seek new connections; endeavor to create new attachments and dependencies; and perhaps, at the end of many years of greater labor than you must submit to here, you would find yourself in some measure consoled and requited for the dissolution of your early, natural, consanguineous, local, municipal, academic, and professional connections. To these considerations may be added others not undeserving of attention. The gentlemen of the profession to whom you would owe your elevation are, beyond doubt, persons of great liberality of sentiment and views. But our nature is human, not angelic. You will certainly be in somebody's way; and you will be considered as an obstacle to the views of more than one aspirant to the chair you would fill. A sort of feeling that a Yankee interloper has come into the association, "et alter tulit honores," must exist; probably not in a degree to display itself at first, or annoy you by any revolting exhibition of envy or malignity: but it will be there, ever ready to germinate to produce feuds, cabals, and discomfort, and to wound feelings. If any man can root

out or prevent the extension of this natural polypus, it would be you. But I know by experience how very uncomfortable may be rendered the tenure of office by the envy, jealousy, or cupidity, of a very few persons; and though the village dogs don't always bark at a stranger who goes through, yet, if he seizes on a village bone, he must be stronger than they are, to bear it off in peace. This is no reproach to men or dogs; for so God hath ordained: and the laws of nature operate with uniformity in all cities, and in all classes and conditions. Now, the contingency of this sort of discomfort is something, as the thing itself would certainly be a good deal. In Boston, the effect cannot happen, there not being the same cause. You are a town-born child, of a known and celebrated family and descent; built upon the town-stocks; breaking no blockade in coming into port, and riding at moorings where all the natives have been used to see you ever since you were launched. Your success and standing in your profession are acquiesced in, as the result of industry and qualifications acquired under the observation of the whole neighborhood; and your brethren are reconciled to your claim to an hereditary faculty in the different branches of your profession, that entitles you to the rank you hold. From sudden ebullitions of concealed chagrin or disappointed emulation you have nothing to fear. There are no spring-guns or man-traps in your way to and from your lecture-room; and you can calculate upon the duration of the esteem and confidence which surround you, because you know their basis, and have witnessed their growth. To all this I add one further reflection, — the bearing of the proposed measure may be of great moment to your children. It is an obvious advantage to the young folks to grow up in the midst of a respectable family connection. Weight of

character and success in life are frequently promoted by the *esprit de corps* or *de famille*. Uncles and cousins are frequently of service to each other in a great variety of relations; and, to females, this connection and relation are invaluable. You are now in the midst of *a clan;* and the children of brothers and sisters are growing up together in habits of friendship, with the probability of "dwelling together in unity," and the certainty of the confidence and complacency which are derived from feeling that one is not alone in the world. Go elsewhere, and you become the solitary parent stock; no "genus et proavus" on which to value yourself, and no connections of blood or family to bolster up the children. I say nothing of taking your wife from her family and friends, — a separation which I believe will make a wound which even you can't heal; though I dare say it would be disguised under good-humor and kind dispositions, to conform to your plans. I forbear also to enlarge upon the superior advantages you now enjoy for the education of your children, and upon the fame and dignity which will probably attend your efforts to build up the medical institutions of your own country, — to be a distinguished founder of a new establishment, rather than an important prop to an old one; but will only add, that, under every aspect in which I can view the question as it affects your interest and prospects, the migration would be unfortunate, and a cause of regret to you through life. In all these opinions my wife most fully concurs, and will perhaps write a postscript. Excuse me for saying an old saw, —

> "I never knew an oft-removèd tree,
> Or yet an oft-removèd family,
> To thrive so well as those that settled be."

Adieu, my dear sir! I am threatened now with a pain in

my toe, which I ascribe altogether to the *fidgets* brought on by your letter.

I am very truly and respectfully

Your friend and servant,

(Signed) H. G. OTIS.

MY DEAR SIR, — I did think I had very much to say on this important and interesting subject: but my husband, as usual, has exhausted the subject; and I need only say amen to the foregoing. If, however, he has omitted any thing, it must arise from a lurking envy on the part of that sex on whom your loss would fall most heavily, and for whom he has that exquisite tenderness, that he would wish an exclusive claim to a reciprocity. If your cruel project is not quite relinquished, we the aggrieved shall have a meeting, and make a most touching appeal to all your fine feelings. In all events, believe me most truly your friend, and deeply interested in your welfare, reputation, and happiness.

S. O.

Mr. Otis was a gentleman equal in talent to any person in our community at that time. He and his family had been friendly to me on my first establishment in Boston. He continued so to the day of his death.

Besides the objections portrayed in the above letter, there were two of great consideration to others, which his delicacy had let him to omit. The first of these was a sense of gratitude to the community in which I lived, for the kindness and consideration I had always experienced. A favorable notice had been taken of my labors, such as they were; and a sort of hereditary regard to my family, springing from the labors and efforts of my uncle and father, and some others of its members.

The second objection not mentioned in the above letter, which had an important influence on my mind, was, that my father, having died only three years before, had left Boston without any one who was particularly known as a surgeon; and some years would have been required to form any one.

The negotiation continued for some months, and cost me much thinking, much writing, and much anxiety; but, when the period arrived for making a reply, I did it decidedly in the negative, for the reasons stated above, and have never seen cause to regret my decision. From that time till the last three years, I have been as much occupied as possible. If I had been in Philadelphia during this period, I should have lectured and written more, and practised less. I should possibly have had more reputation in surgery, and less property. Instead of being now situated in a very large circle of friends and relations, among whom I could enjoy the fruits of my labors, I should have been placed, no doubt, among many distinguished men and very good friends, but less near to me than those in Boston.

In the year 1838, being then in Europe, I received an application, on the part of the Regent of the University of New York, to take the office of Professor of Anatomy in that institution.

The same reasons which had operated on my mind in regard to Philadelphia, influenced me in respect to that from New York; and, with the expression of my thanks for the high honor conferred upon me, I respectfully declined the invitation.

June 6, 1820, Dr. Warren read to the Massachusetts Medical Society, as their Annual Discourse, "A

Comparative View of the Sensorial and Nervous Systems in Man and Animals." This was perhaps the earliest publication in Boston upon the subject of comparative anatomy, which was always a favorite science with him. Like every thing else which he set about, he prepared this treatise with the greatest care by dissections, and by the examination of the labors of others, particularly of Cuvier, whose lectures he had attended with great pleasure when he studied in Paris.

Adopting as his guide the arrangement of Linnæus, improved by Cuvier, he commences with the classes of vertebral animals, and describes the particular nervous structure in each of these; and hence goes down to the lowest order of animal life. Thence he goes into an account of the different races of men, and gives a comparative view of the crania of these races. He comes to the conclusion, that the structure of the brain in animals shows nothing to prove that the intellectual faculties are altogether dependent on the organization of the brain. He is disposed to attribute the differences in the races of men more to education than to physical structure. He thinks that the Mongol race may be as susceptible of improvement as the Caucasian. The North-American Indians he thinks equally capable of education, if commenced from the cradle. With regard to the African, he states, that, in those born in this country, "their appearance alters for the better; the features expand, and assume a milder character; the body

becomes more upright. In one of the New-England States, where slavery was retained, in a mitigated form, longer than in the rest, it has been distinctly noticed, that the children of Africans, born in this country, and brought up with those of the whites, as occasionally happened in large country estates, were as intelligent, as gay, as ready to imbibe the rudiments of learning, as the whites; and, if their education had kept pace with that of the latter, they might generally have continued on the same level through life."

This little treatise must have been listened to and read, at the time of its delivery and publication, with great interest, because the language is clear, and readily understood by the scientific or the unscientific; and it doubtless contributed to call attention to the science which the genius of Cuvier so brilliantly illustrated, and which has since been so earnestly pursued in this country.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The period of 1820 (that is, that time before and afterwards) was filled, as before mentioned, with extensive practice, and with various other occupations. In 1820, the Hospital began. At about the same time, St. Paul's Church, and its consequent labors, commenced. In 1820, I delivered the Annual Discourse to the Massachusetts Medical Society. This was the first publication in comparative anatomy here, and cost me many laborious dissections. It was, however, finished early; so that, after it was com-

pleted, and before it was delivered, I had time to go into the country for a few days to recruit a little from the labors of the winter. Mr. Mason, my father-in-law, possessing an extensive sheep-farm in Dublin, N.H., invited his family to make a visit to the place. The party consisted, as well as I remember, of Mr. and Mrs. Mason, Mrs. Grant, Mr. and Mrs. Sears, Mr. Trueman, and myself. Mrs. Warren remained at home to take care of the little family, which was then five or six in number. It was the 23d of May, and the trees were covered with blossoms; but, when we arrived in New Hampshire (which was the afternoon of the day we left Boston), we were interrupted by a violent snow-storm, which confined us in a poor tavern eleven miles short of Dublin. The great Monadnock was the first object which presented itself on the following morning; and, although at considerable distance, it appeared so near as to seem to tower over our heads, covered with snow from its base to its summit, and gave some idea of one of the snowy peaks of the Alps.

Dublin is singularly situated at the base of Monadnock; the eastern side of the mountain appearing quite precipitous, like a wall, and the country below stopping abruptly at its base. This country, contracting to a narrow pass, gradually rises till you reach the highest part, where, from the road, you might contemplate to the east and south the whole country from that place to Boston; and on the north lay the village of Dublin, its church, and a beautiful lake, beyond which the country opened to the north and west. We passed two or three days in this romantic situation; and some of the company ascended Monadnock, though with great difficulty.

About that time, I went up Wachusett in company with Dr. Bigelow. Being about to visit a patient in Groton, I

invited him to accompany me; and we visited, in the first place, the patient, at the house of Samuel Dana, Esq., a famous Democratic politician. After this visit to Groton, we crossed a beautiful country, through Harvard and Lancaster, to Princeton; but did not reach there till ten o'clock at night, very dark, threatening to rain, and we ignorant of the route. The inn was an uninhabited one, so far as regarded guests, as there were none; and there was very little to eat. The next day was Sunday; and we were shut up all day by a violent rain-storm, during which I read no small part of the "Universal History" of Anquetil. Dr. Bigelow amused himself in a similar way. The next morning, being clear, though wet, we took a guide, and ascended the mountain. The first part of the ascent was through a tall and regular grove of walnuts and oaks. These, as we ascended, became shorter, and, at the summit, dwindled into shrubs, so firm and bushy that one could almost walk upon their summits. We were told there was a carriage-road from Westminster, on the other side. The summit of the mountain is bare, and the view magnificent. The river Nashua forms a peculiar feature in the scenery; and the country towards Boston is so free and open, that the sea may be discovered with a telescope. Ward Nicholas Boylston, Esq., the patron of the Medical Institution, afterwards lived in Princeton; and I made him a very pleasant visit, in company with Dr. Gorham. The third time, I ascended the mountain without a guide, and got lost. That time, we ascended from Lancaster. Mrs. Warren and two of my daughters were with me: and we took at Lancaster Miss Ann Clay, who was residing there; but she was unable to ascend the mountain, from an organic affection of the heart. On descending, we got our dinner of brown bread and butter at a house wildly situated on the brow of the mountain.

To return to our mountain journey to Monadnock. On our way home, we were involved in a very violent thunder-shower, during which we were much exposed on the mountain road of the Concord turnpike, but arrived safely home that day, without any great accidents; quite happy to be protected from the snow and thunder storms.

CHAPTER XI.

EARLY IMPRESSIONS. — RELIGION. — ST. PAUL'S CHURCH. — PRAYERS.

In November, 1820, Dr. Warren joined the religious society at St. Paul's Church, which had recently been erected in Boston.

His father had been strictly educated in the doctrines and principles of the Puritans, or Calvinists. His mother was by education a Quaker, who, by marrying out of her church, became separated from that body.

In the religious instruction of their children, they both enforced the simple doctrine, that the Bible was the word of God, and that all who strictly obeyed its precepts would be accepted by him. It was the constant desire of Dr. John Warren to lead his children not only to revere, but to love, the Scriptures. Until after the return of his son from Europe in 1802, Brattle-street Church, which he and his family attended, was strictly Calvinistic in doctrine.

A gradual change took place under Mr. Buckminster: but the language of the hymn-books used, continued Trinitarian; and these naturally serve to bias the mind of a child, or of a young person who has not given the subject much thought.

Mr. Buckminster's opinions were in a progressive state. He seldom, if ever, preached doctrinal sermons. The principal change was, in fact, one which had been going on imperceptibly in this and the other congregations in and around Boston. It was a change, not of doctrines, but of feelings. It had become more the custom to attempt to *lead* men, by dwelling upon the love of God, and good-will to all men, than to drive them by a display of the terrors of future punishment.

The change, therefore, in Brattle-street Church, as in the other churches, consisted in an increasing liberality of sentiment, and in a gradual omission of Calvinistic forms of expression in the prayers and sermons, without any universal or avowed change of doctrine. It was left for every one to form his own theological views. The younger portion of the society were never instructed in sectarian tenets, and many of the older members never altered their doctrinal opinions.

It was not until about the time that Dr. Warren left this church, that Unitarian views began to be explained and enforced. He therefore entered upon religious inquiries with his mind nearly unbiased as to sectarian tenets, except as far as regards early impressions from the doxologies, and forms of benediction, which were Trinitarian. He has given a full account of his search after truth, and of the reasons which led him to the step he had now taken.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

My father was brought up in the Orthodox Church in Roxbury. The Rev. Dr. Porter was placed in that church. My father, as soon as he settled in Boston, fixed himself in the Brattle-street Church, the pastor being the eloquent and patriotic Dr. Cooper; and occupied the same pew which had belonged to, and been occupied by, his brother, General Warren. In that pew I sat for the first twenty years, under the ministration of the Rev. Dr. ——. This gentleman was a man of handsome abilities, elegant person, with a delightful voice; very impressive in prayer: but, being much courted and feasted by the many rich men of his congregation, his industry became relaxed, and, consequently, his sermons less effective. When little more than fifty years old, he lost his health, and his powerful constitution began to totter. His sermons were rather orthodox than otherwise, but had no distinct point. They, of course, made very little impression; and whether I got much good there myself, or not, I cannot tell; but suppose that the regular habit of going to church, acquired at that period of life, was a great advantage. There was no particular religious instruction, however; no Sunday school, no conversation, and nothing but a mere routine of going to church every Sunday. I suppose that the Revolution, which had just terminated, bringing in new habits and customs, — as, for example, laboring on the sabbath the same as on any other day; the universal employment of ardent spirits in the army, and thence diffusing itself in the rest of the community, — broke in upon the religious habits and opinions which had characterized this part of the country. There was, however, no disrespect of religion in my father's house.

On the contrary, he was, whenever he was able, in the habit of reading a sermon to his family on Sunday. My religious notions were therefore laid in the right train, but were yet not very well settled; so that at college, except a general respect for religion and its services, I had very little thought on the subject, and, as far as I remember, never, in going to prayers, had the least feeling of their object. We were to go into the chapel, get through the prayers as quick as we could, and then get out. We never had any religious address in the College Chapel; and, although we were obliged to go to church on Sunday, considered the sermons of the reverend clergyman as a task to be gone through, although we had great respect for the character of the preacher.

With religious feelings setting very lightly on my mind, I went to Europe in the year 1799, being then about twenty years old. From that time to the period of my return, I never went to church, except in Edinburgh, where the Rev. Dr. Kemp used to ask me to dine on Sunday, and carried me to his church in the afternoon. His good wine, and a little glass of brandy and sugar after dinner, — in taking which, Lady Kemp always set the example, — very much blighted our attention in the afternoon. In London, Sunday was a day of relief from study, of dining out, and doing any thing but going to church. In France, there was no regular religion at the time I was there. Sunday was blotted out. Once in ten days, we had a vacation-day from study; and, on that day, the Theophilanthropists, as they called themselves, sometimes held festivals in some of the churches. There they had a rhetorical address, an altar covered with flowers, and an orator (not a priest) robed in white silk, ornamented with every variety of colored ribbons. About that time, however, Bonaparte, having reached the summit of his consular power, came to a

conclusion that religion was necessary to good government. He determined, therefore, to bring back the Catholic religion; and in April, 1800, went with great pomp, and an army of twenty thousand men, to the Church of Notre Dame, in Paris, to restore religion. After that time, the churches were re-opened; and the priests, with a timorous and doubtful step, re-entered their places of worship.

Returning to Boston in the latter part of 1802, I was married in November, 1803, and looked round for a church to settle in. It so happened, that in the Anthology Club, and in the Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy, I had become very much acquainted with the Rev. Dr. William Emerson. The societies even often met in his house, and our apparatus was lodged there. These circumstances led to a great intimacy; and, he being a lively, intelligent person, an attractive preacher, and very desirous I should join his church, we concluded to go to the "Old Brick," as it was called, or First Church. This, a very respectable building of peculiar architecture, was situated near the head of State Street, where Joy's Building now stands. Dr. Emerson died, no long time after, from an organic affection of the stomach. The old church was pulled down, and a very ordinary one erected in Chauncy Place. This proceeding being very unpleasant, and the Rev. Mr. Buckminster being placed in our original church in Brattle Street, I determined to go to his church, and bought a pew there; my father being then alive, and attending the same church.

Mr. Buckminster was a remarkably able, eloquent, and agreeable person; perhaps one of the most able writers of the country in his time. I was intimately acquainted with him. I never went to church in the morning, and missed

often in the afternoon, but still was a member of the Parish Committee. Mr. Buckminster, unfortunately, died of epilepsy; and we then had Mr. Edward Everett, who, though very young (being about twenty-one), had entered the pulpit. Mr. Everett was very much liked by everybody, and particularly by myself. But, after a short time, he left the church; being chosen Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard College.

About this time, a friend of mine, in whom I felt much interest, had committed some indiscretions which were injurious to his character. This led to pretty serious conversation between us; and I agreed, for more exactness, to put my thoughts in writing. In doing this, I was naturally led, as a preventive to future mistakes, to point out the importance of religious faith and practice. This brought on a number of conversations on the subject, from which I was led to take up the matter in a way I had not yet done; having, like most men, deferred its examination to a more convenient time. The circumstances above mentioned, however, set me to work immediately and systematically. I read the Greek Testament through, once or twice, from a copy which I purchased in Paris in the year 1801, and which I procured in that great city with much difficulty; there being none for sale at the bookshops, and that which I procured was found in a stall. This copy I lately gave to my son Sullivan. Afterwards I read a good deal of the Greek Septuagint, and the whole of the Latin Vulgate, wishing to come as near as possible to the fountain-head. Some of the commentaries I also read, particularly Macknight; then Wilberforce, Leland, and Butler's "Analogy," from which I never obtained the satisfaction that led Governor Bowdoin to recommend it; also works on the prophecies, miracles, &c. I was particularly pleased with

the philosophical spirit of a small work by the celebrated writer on natural philosophy, — Bonnet of Geneva, — which I read two or three times. What gave me particular satisfaction was the reading of the books which immediately followed, or were said to have followed, the publication of the Gospels, — Irenæus, Polycarp, St. Jerome, and others.

After going through all these and many other works, I determined to adopt the Orthodox or Trinitarian form of worship; and there happened to be about this time a new Episcopal Church (St. Paul's) set up by some of the members of Trinity Church, and many gentlemen of the town not Churchmen, among whom were Hon. Mr. Webster, George Sullivan, H. G. Otis, David Sears, and a large division of Mr. Mason's family, some of whom afterwards became members of the church, and others not. About half a dozen families left Brattle Street, not by concert, but by a simultaneous movement. This excited a great many remarks, much discussion, and a great deal of abuse, in newspapers and pamphlets; in consequence of which, some of the subscribers to the new church retired, while others became more settled and firm. The church was well attended; but, the pews not being disposed of to an extent to relieve its debt, a good deal of uneasiness was excited. The debt was much relieved by permission to build tombs under the church, the whole of which were soon sold; and by the judicious management of Mr. William Appleton, Mr. Stephen Codman, and others, was soon reduced to a manageable state.

In the mean while, a disatisfaction arose from the constant demands of the rector for money; he being disposed to anticipate his income. He became also unpopular, in other respects, by his bigotry. The members began to fall off; and finally an expression of discontent was found to be pretty

general. This led to the demand, on the part of the church, for a separation from the rector. This movement was strenuously opposed by him, and was at length settled by an appeal to a convention. They recommended that the rector should have permission to retire, in consideration of the sum of five thousand dollars paid to him by the church; which they gladly agreed to, at the end of about five years after his settlement. A considerable number of the parish followed this gentleman, who preached for some time at Christ Church.

St. Paul's Church was now in a deserted state, and it was thought would soon be sold for a Unitarian church, as Unitarianism was then making rapid advances. In concert with Mr. William Appleton, I agreed to undertake the management of the church concerns, and was chosen senior warden. For about two years, I supplied the pulpit with such ministers as I could find; and sometimes we were obliged to resort to laymen to read the service. I superintended the Sunday School, the Missionary Society, and the church music. But the great object in view was to get a rector of real piety and decided talent. For a long time, this was impracticable; but at last, through the Rev. Dr. Wayland, who was then a Baptist minister in this town, I was informed of Rev. Mr. Potter, who had lately been chosen President of the new Episcopal College in Geneva, N.Y. It was a hard matter to prevail on Mr. Potter to come here; but still harder to obtain the consent of the Bishop of New York, who considered Mr. Potter's continuance in the college to be very important. By letter, I introduced myself to the Bishop of New York, and, by a protracted correspondence, convinced him, that, if St. Paul's Church fell through, it would have a bad effect on Episcopalianism in this State, and perhaps in New England. Finally, the consent of all parties was

obtained; and Mr. Potter was inducted into office on the twenty-ninth day of August, 1826. This was the opening of a new era for St. Paul's, and the Episcopal Church generally in this part of the country.

Mr. Potter (now Bishop Potter) was a person of great natural abilities, industry, and perseverance; fine manners, commanding appearance, and benevolent disposition. While he was what is called a sound Churchman, his views of religious worship were such as appeared to me to belong to a pious and sensible man. Under his ministration, the church grew rapidly, and soon filled with persons who thought seriously on religious subjects, gathered from a variety of other congregations, — Episcopal, Orthodox, and Unitarian. The accessory means of religious improvement were cultivated by lectures, social meetings, missionary societies, and other means of improvement. During the interregnum, a number of us formed a private association for the purpose of religious improvement. We met weekly, on Sunday evenings, first at the vestry, and afterwards at our houses in rotation. The gentlemen composing this society (besides myself) were Drs. Jeffries, Reynolds, Hale; Edward Tuckerman, James C. Merrill, and James C. Dunn, Esqs. We continued these meetings to much advantage for several years, without its existence being known to any but our families. Finally, some of the gentlemen began to fall off; and it was discontinued, contrary to my wish. We gave an impulse to the Church Missionary Society, instituted for the purpose of helping poor churches. In doing this, we had the aid of some gentlemen of Trinity Church, particularly S. D. Parker, Esq.

It was in this society that the plan of publishing a new Prayer Book was originated and accomplished. We had felt the want of a good Prayer Book, and succeeded in get-

ting out one in an octavo form, well printed, with a new set of directions for those who were unacquainted with church forms, at the price of one dollar a copy. The edition has long since been exhausted. Rev. Mr. Doane, of Trinity, was added to the Standing Committee by the Convention; and, by his great activity, ultimately took the management out of our hands.

The Rev. Mr. Potter continued at St. Paul's about five years, I think; when, on account of ill health, he, to the consternation of the parish, requested a dismissal.

St. Paul's Church received its character from Bishop Potter. Dr. Jarvis was a High Churchman, and full in the belief that the Book of Common Prayer should be adhered to under all circumstances, and for all religious purposes. The congregation, constituted as it was principally of persons educated in the Congregational form, could never swallow this doctrine. Bishop Potter adhered to the Book of Common Prayer, as a collection venerable for its age, and convenient for devotional exercises; but he did not think it necessary to employ it exclusively. Bishops Hopkins, Doane, and others, believed the Common Prayer Book was competent, not only for the usual services of the altar, but for all other occasions, — as temperance celebrations, missionary meetings, &c. Bishop Hopkins maintained, even, that temperance societies, and other similar associations, were useless; as all matters necessary to life and doctrine were to be found in the Common Prayer Book. Both these gentlemen lived long enough to see that the public opinion was against them; but whether they ever altered their notions, I have not heard.

The church, although it had lost many of its High Church members, was, on the departure of Bishop Potter (1831), very flourishing in its state of religious feeling; and

a great number of religious societies existed in the congregation, and were supported very liberally in all good works.

The weekly evening lectures of Mr. Potter contributed to the maintenance of a right feeling in the church, as well as to attract new members from abroad.

The interregnum which followed was an anxious one to those who felt much interest in its concerns; for the congregation, attracted by the excellence of Mr. Potter, immediately began to fall off on his departure. Every effort was made on my part to obtain temporary aid from able clergymen; but, although the facilities were increased very much from those of the previous interregnum, they were not such as to enable us to keep up a deep interest. After an interval of between one and two years, we invited the Rev. Mr. McIlvaine, of Brooklyn, N.Y., a pious man, and of great eloquence. He made a preliminary visit to Boston, and staid with me; was pleased with the prospect; and would have, no doubt, accepted the call, but was at that time made Bishop of Ohio. We had then to look out again; and at length we heard of the Rev. Mr. Stone, who was settled in New Haven. We sent a committee to hear him, consisting of Mr. Manlius Sargent, Mr. Tuckerman, and Mr. Reynolds; and, they making a favorable report, we gave him a call. This was accepted, and he was soon after settled. The people soon became sensible, that, in Mr. Stone, they had a treasure which they could not find elsewhere, and the church filled rapidly.

After nine years of faithful labor, the rector was invited (1841) to Brooklyn, N.Y.; and he accepted the call. Thus we lost three rectors in about twenty years.

I was obliged to go to work again, and ultimately prevailed on Mr. Vinton, of Providence, R.I., to come to Boston.*

* Instituted at St. Paul's Church, May 11, 1842.

He has, by his moral and physical qualities, placed the church on a better footing than before. The pews are sold at as high a rate there as at any church in town, and it is rare that one is to be obtained. Dr. Vinton, exercising as he does great mental power to awaken the congregation to a lively religious feeling, considers his success as not proportionate to his efforts; and there is, in fact, no religious excitement in the parish. But there seems to be, as far as I can judge, a steady sentiment pervading the people; and a full attendance on all occasions, excepting at midsummer.

Finding some inconveniences from being compelled to attend to the duties of warden, I resigned that office, after holding it seventeen years; but have continued a member of the vestry to this time (December, 1849).

There is a good library belonging to the church, which has been founded by David Sears, Esq., containing about a thousand volumes.

Thirty years have elapsed since I became interested in St. Paul's Church. On looking back, through this period, to the various labors, duties, and expenses which it has involved, I feel, on the whole, satisfied with the review. Bred up in the Congregational church, I gave the preference to the Episcopal form, partly on account of its antiquity, but principally on account of its solemnity. A large part of mankind require, for the excitement of religious feelings, some impression on the imagination; and this acts more efficiently and more beneficially on this class than a very simple form would do. I have thought that a more impressive form of worship might be arranged than any of those that now exist, so far as I know. But it would be rather difficult to find any form which would suit all classes better than the Episcopalian.

The following prayers, selected from private manuscripts, as showing the more secret devotional feelings of the writer, may properly be introduced in this chapter. The one in behalf of a sick person is written with an intense degree of earnestness. Some of them are composed in Latin. Dr. Warren's fondness for the language led him daily to read a short passage from one of the Latin authors.

ETERNAL, all-powerful Lord God, most holy, omnipresent Spirit! we, thy humble offspring, fall down before thee; we prostrate ourselves in the dust, overpowered by the contemplation of thy greatness, and by the weight of our own unworthiness and misery.

In approaching thee, we desire to humble ourselves before thee; to acknowledge and bewail our manifest sins, and the wretchedness of our condition. We are corrupt; we have strayed from the way of life and happiness; we have done those things we ought not to have done, and omitted those we ought to have done. Our consciences accuse us, and our hearts condemn us. Overpowered by the burden of our sins, how shall we be able, or be so daring as, to look up to thy purity and holiness?

But, O God! we repent; we repent in sorrow and in tears. We are grieved; we accuse and condemn ourselves, and confess that our multiplied offences render us unworthy of thy mercy. We have sinned against thee; we have sinned against our fellow-mortals; we have sinned against our own light and conviction; and where shall we look for pardon and for hope?

To whom, O merciful Father! can we turn, but to thee, who hast promised forgiveness to those who repent truly of

their sins? We repent in dust and ashes. We pray for thy divine forgiveness and pity. In the name of Him, whom with infinite mercy thou hast sent to make atonement for us, and to wash out with his blood our deepest offences, — in his name, and with his blood, we hope and desire to be cleansed and purified, and made white as snow. We ask not in our own strength, but in the strength of our Redeemer. We ask not for ourselves only; but, through the tender love of our Mediator, we ask thy commiseration, thy pardon, and thy paternal care, for those who are dear to us, — for our friends, our relations, and for the whole human race.

O gracious God! grant that our future lives may be pure, holy, and acceptable to thee. Grant us the powerful aid of thy Holy Spirit to inspire our minds with good thoughts, and to support our hearts in the execution of good deeds. May we be led to thee at every moment and every act of our lives, that we may always think what is good in thy eyes, and perform what is most for thy service. Thus may we be filled with piety towards thee, with humility for ourselves, and with love for our fellow-men; so that, by the cultivation of sincere religion and disinterested benevolence, our souls may be gradually purified and elevated as associates for the spirits of the just and the angels on high.

With submission and self-distrust, we ask thy temporal mercies in this state of trial and difficulty. For our friends we would ask health, life, prosperity, and virtue; for ourselves we ask whatever it may please thee to bestow on us, unworthy as we are of any blessing. Thou knowest our wants and our wishes. Grant, we beseech thee, whatever is good; and withhold what is hurtful. But grant us, above all things, to be always in the way that leads to everlasting

life and to thy glorious presence, and to the ever-blessed company of sages, saints, and pious men, who have lived since the foundation of the world.

While we pray for thy favor, we would not forget to acknowledge and thank thee for the innumerable and unmerited blessings we enjoy. We thank thee for our being, our reason, and all the mercies, spiritual and temporal, thou hast been pleased to bestow on us. We thank thee, above all, for thy inconceivable love in sending into the world thy Son to redeem us from sin and eternal death; and especially we thank thee that thou hast declared the glad tidings of divine truth and salvation to us, and that thou hast opened our ears to hear and our hearts to feel them. We thank thee also for what thou hast denied, as for that thou hast given. Thou knowest best, O Lord! and to thee we would wholly commit ourselves, and those dear friends thou hast given us.

And now, O God! we would venture to lift our eyes, and to praise and magnify thee.

Thou alone existest from eternity, and fillest all space; thou alone art all-wise, all-powerful, and all-good; thou alone art wholly inconceivable to our minds. The thought of thee dazzles and overpowers us, and strikes us down to our primitive dust. Great and glorious Creator of thousands of worlds and myriads of animated natures, pity our weakness, and accept our homage. And because we cannot approach thee, even in thought, we would address all our supplication through our blessed Mediator and Saviour, and the blessed Spirit thou hast sent to comfort us.

And now to the infinite majesty of God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, we would render praise and glory inexpressible and eternal. Amen.

. . . . . .

We at this time would devoutly elevate our thanks and praises to Thee that it has pleased thee to inspire our bishops and clergy with sentiments favorable to the growth of evangelical and vital religion. Touch the heart, we humbly beseech thee, of those who view with coldness the zeal and fervor now breaking forth in this church. Inspire them, O Father and God of all nations! with a disposition to promote the knowledge of the divine word among these hapless and wretched people, who sit in the darkness of ignorance and uncertainty; and, when they are again called to consult for the spiritual interests of their people, may they be prepared to lend their aid to awaken the sleeping sinner at home, and to carry the light of the gospel to those that in darkness brood. We would also express our profound gratitude for the blessings poured on this particular church, of which it has pleased thee to make us members. We thank thee, O gracious God! for all the means and opportunities which thou art affording and increasing to us of improvement in the knowledge of those concerns that conduct us on the road of eternal life. We thank thee for this humble Association; bless it, and prosper it, and make it a means of grace to ourselves and to others. We thank thee, most beneficent Parent, that it hath pleased thee to put it into the hearts of any of us to instruct the young of our church in the great doctrines of our holy religion. Prosper and aid all those who are engaged in this most interesting labor; expand the hearts of those in their charge, that they may readily receive the seeds of virtue, and bring forth fruits of immortal life and salvation.

And now, O Lord Jesus Christ! in full faith and trust of thy life-giving passion, salutary cross, death, burial, and resurrection from the dead on the third day; thy ascension into heaven, and sitting at the right hand of the Father; and looking for thy second glorious and terrible advent, when thou shalt come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead, and shalt render to every one according to his works; we wretched and miserable sinners do beseech thee, that thou wouldst not deal with us after our sins, nor reward us after our iniquities, but according to thy clemency and ineffable love to mankind, overlooking and blotting out the handwriting that is against us thy servants, wouldst grant us thy heavenly and eternal good things; for we, thy people and thine humble offspring, make our supplications unto thee. Have mercy upon us, O Lord God, Almighty Father! have mercy upon us, according to thy merciful disposition; and send down thy Holy Spirit on us all, through the appointed means and channels of grace in thy church, for the sanctification of soul and body, for bringing forth the fruit of good works, the remission of sins, and the life everlasting.

EVER-PRESENT GOD! we raise our voices to thee with songs of praise and thanksgiving. We thank thee that thou hast disposed the hearts of thy creatures, both here and in other parts of the Christian world, to send the good news of salvation to the ignorant and idolatrous heathen. We magnify thee, that the star once manifested to the Gentiles is travelling over dark and obscure regions, and everywhere shedding abroad the light of life and salvation. We thank thee for the rising aspects of the gospel in the abolition of idolatry, superstition, and corruption, and the substitution of knowledge, morality, and holiness.

Adored be thine infinite mercy, which brought the joyful sound to the land of our nativity, and poured out to us a full measure of the glad tidings of great joy; that our hearts have sometimes been warmed to good dispositions, though too often relapsing into a languid indifference. Remove our coldness, and increase our faith, that we neglect not so great salvation.

We acknowledge with hearts full of gratitude that thou hast taken compassion on the congregation which has given birth to this meeting. . . . More especially we offer up our thanks, that thou hast granted us a pastor of thy appointment, to gather the wandering flock, and feed them with the reviving and renovating fruits of thy most excellent and soul-refreshing word. Support and animate and guide him in the way that shall lead him and us to everlasting life. And we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord! to comfort and succor those among us who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And, O gracious God! we thank thee that thou hast preserved us present to see the beginning of another year; and, by continuing the blessings of life, hast invited us anew to repentance. Grant that this mercy may not be in vain, and that our years may not be multiplied to multiply the account of our guilt.

. . . . . O LORD, Father and King, eternal, infinite, and omnipresent Fountain of life and immortality, Treasure of bliss inexhaustible and everlasting! the heaven, and heaven of heavens, and all the powers therein, render praise; and we poor mortals, sinful dust and ashes, vile and unworthy though we be, do yet desire to join in concert with that heavenly host, and say, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts: the heavens and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory." . . .

FATHER of the human race, Author and Preserver of health! we supplicate thee to look on thy servant, whom thou hast been pleased to afflict with many and long-continued sufferings.

O God! we acknowledge the justness of all thy visitations on our feeble race. We know and confess that thou hast a right to visit us with pain and sorrow, both as our Father and our offended Judge. We complain not, O God! of any of the sufferings thou art pleased to inflict on us. We know that it is for our benefit and improvement; and we feel grateful for the benign expression of thy care, and tenderness for our weakness, and thy peculiar love for those whom thou hast selected as subjects for severe trials. We bow our heads in submission to thy righteous will, and breathe not a murmur at the dispositions of thy divine power.

While we submit ourselves entirely to thy unerring providence, we supplicate thy tender mercy on thy servant, for whom we venture to address thy divine majesty. In judgment show mercy, O God! O God our Saviour! show mercy to thy servant.

. . . . . .

Heal, O Lord God! the wounds it has pleased thee to inflict. . . . Speak the word, O blessed Lord! and thy servant shall be healed.

O Lord God! turn not away from our petition, and listen to our prayer and supplication. We have no merit to plead; but we plead only for mercy, we plead in His name whom thou art always pleased to hear, we plead earnestly and ardently and with agony, O God! for thy compassion on thy servant, for relief from suffering, and restoration to health.

. . . . . .

Animate that heart with a sense of the fulness of thy presence and of thy goodness. Raise it from all the objects of earth to thee, the only Being worthy of unmingled love and gratitude.

. . . . . .

We would present our humble, fervent prayer, O Father! in the name of Him who came into the world to redeem and save us. In his name alone, and through his intercession, we offer all our supplication, and renew all our petition. Through his blessed mediation, hear us, O Lord God! Listen to our prayers, and grant our request, and

All the glory and honor be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, through the ages of eternity. Amen.

O ALMIGHTY GOD! who hast built thy universal church on the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; grant that, by the operations of the Holy Spirit, the Christians of this thy church may be so joined together in unity of spirit as to be a holy temple, acceptable to thee. Supply, O heavenly Father! at this time, their spiritual wants with a pastor and a guide inspired with the knowledge from above, — the knowledge of thy will, through the gospel of thy beloved Son, — and that he may direct his wandering flock through the blessed path which leads to the springs of eternal life, and of which he that drinketh shall never thirst. This we ask in the name of our blessed Mediator, Jesus Christ.

BLESSED LORD GOD! at whose mighty word the corners of the earth tremble, and the mountains shake from their foundations; who ridest on the whirlwind, and who directest the storm; oh! let thy wrath cease, and let not the fulness of thine indignation be poured upon guilty man. Thine only-begotten Son did leave the realms of bliss to be born, as at this period we commemorate, of flesh and blood, to drink deeply of the bitter cup of human misery and death. Rejected of men, — whom he came down to save, — he was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; he was persecuted for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities; a stranger on the earth, which was fashioned by his hands, and an outcast among the people whom his Father had created. When, therefore, we behold HIM stretched upon the cross in the agonies of death, how can *we* expect to escape the heavy and wrathful displeasure of the Almighty? Who shall redeem us from the burden of our sins? who shall blot out our iniquities? who shall open the gate of heaven, and bid us to come in? Thou, Lord, whom we have persecuted; thou, Saviour of the world, whom we have so often smitten. *Thou* hast made thyself a propitiation for the wickedness of man, and hast offered up thine own immaculate body as a free-will offering and sacrifice for his transgression. Thou wilt gather the repentant from the ends of the universe, and thy mercy will grant what thy judgment would withhold. Oh! may these our hopes be confirmed at thy mercy-seat. Impress on us for ever these awful recollections; and, in the hour of temptation, may the voice of conscience breathe in our hearts, that the mighty Saviour died to preserve us from infinite misery.

O FATHER! have compassion on the different members of our family who are scattered over the face of the earth. Guard them, we pray thee, from accidents, from sickness, and from all troubles. But especially, O God! guard them from sin, the sickness of the soul, and from eternal death. May they have a constant sense of thy existence and presence. May they endeavor to serve thee constantly and faithfully. May they be useful in their day and generation. And at last, O Father! admit them to thy blessed kingdom, through the merits and blood of our atoning Redeemer.

CHAPTER XII.

RELIGIOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

You ask me, my dear friend, what Mr. E. means by faith. How can I answer this question to a mind more acute and better instructed on this subject than my own? I have no doubt, you comprehend the object he had in view better than myself; but perhaps we may view his opinions in a different light. Like all who have dwelt much on one subject, he sees it in many relations which would not present themselves to others; and it is by the attempt to display all their relations we are confused, and get no distinct impression from that which is principal and pre-eminent. What does he wish us to believe but this? — that faith is not a new nor an abstract principle; that, of itself, it is nothing but a barren speculation; that, to make it fruitful, we must cultivate, not only the understanding, but the heart, and bring into its service, not the reasoning power alone, but the affections. We must *feel* as well as *believe*. We must feel the mighty power and goodness of our Creator; and we must realize his infinite love for us miserable beings in sending us a revelation of his character and his will by his blessed Son, and his accepting that Son as an offering for our frailties and transgressions, and listening to him as a Mediator for our prostrated and penitent souls. When the love of our infinitely beneficent Parent is brought into our view, we are not to satisfy our consciences with bowing our heads in respect and adoration, but we must bring our whole souls

to realize his transcendent benevolence. With such a temper of mind cultivated into a permanent habit, all our thoughts would partake of love for that Creator who has done so much for us; and this love would banish all meaner thoughts, all the trifles of time and space, to their proper region. This blessed spirit of love would influence all our social actions; and, beginning in the narrow sphere which encircles ourselves, would extend to all men, and all the animated works of our common Father, and at length return and rise again to Him, the Source of love and happiness.

On such a topic it would be easy to dilate. I will only ask this question, Why did our Creator explain his will to us by his divine revelation? Was it that we should *believe* only? or was it that we should *believe* and *act?*

The idea of a salvation by faith alone is as strictly contradicted, then, by reason, as it is by positive assertions of revelation.

Let us not, then, dare to trust on our faith alone. If our kind Father has bestowed on us his Holy Spirit to soften our hard hearts, let us be humbly grateful for the gift; but we must be careful — oh, how careful! — not to glory in it. That pride were the most dangerous and deadly error, which would undermine all our goodness, and, when we thought ourselves most strong, would leave us prostrate in the power of mortal sin. Our faith, if we have it, we must be most grateful, most humbly grateful, for. Our hearts should melt in thankfulness at the recollection of the divine favor. We must nourish and cultivate it with all tenderness and affection, and produce from it the fruits of a good life, — a life held in the performance of the will of the Author of our being; a gradual and regular elevation of character; so that every thought and every act should bring us

nearer to Him, with whom we humbly hope to live through eternity.

That this may be your lot and mine, let us pray without ceasing. In this hope, all my aspirations to our heavenly Father are breathed from day to day. For this blessing I pray, — might I not say, above all others? — that we should be holier, wiser, and better, and at length ascend from this scene of trial and suffering to that assembly of blessed spirits, where every thought shall be free, and as holy as free.

Boston, Feb. 9, 1832.

. . . . . When I have been out in the night, and return home at one or two in the morning, — the town buried in the deepest repose, — I reflect that sixty thousand people are immersed in forgetfulness, and are unconscious of the bright moon and the still, breathless atmosphere; and not a sound meets my ear but the distant heavy roar of the beaches at Nahant and Lynn; — my spirit, unencumbered, rises to Him from whom it emanated, and pours out its gratitude for its existence, its blessings, and its hopes.

I saw to-day a book on Enthusiasm, which, from the account of it given me, must be good; and I will send it to you. The religious condition of this community seems to me in a sort of quietude, which presages some considerable movement. Little appears to be doing; but there are many good books published and read, the Sunday schools are active, and a multitude of associations are occupied in diffusing religion and morality. The change in the matter of spirituous drinks seems to me little less than miraculous, and fills me with pleasure and expectation. The winter of Boston has been mild, till within the

last three weeks. We have the thermometer frequently at zero, and the surface of the earth covered with a magnificent bed of snow, which bids fair to remain through the winter. The European winter set in two months earlier than ours, which was unfortunate for our friends in France.

My winter has been a happy and a prosperous one; far more than I could expect, or did deserve. With good health, and reasonable time to attend to my lectures, the losses I experienced in the manufactory business repairing, although I received, as usual, some violent shocks, I daily raised my thoughts in thankfulness to the Most High for the multitude of blessings showered on so unworthy a head. My designs have been prospered, my labors accomplished and settled, my whole concerns arranged; so that, if it pleased the Author of my being to remove me from this earth to-night, I should have nothing to say, — no account to settle but one; and for that one I confess myself inadequate and incompetent. This last and most dreadful reckoning I feel myself unable to pay; and how wretched would the thought make me feel, were it not for my faith and hope in Him who has with his own blood washed out the heavy, the incalculable debt! Lost in the contemplation of never-ending deficiencies, I turn to Him, and bow my soul at the foot of his atoning cross, in humblest penitence and regret. How much of my life was spent in thoughtlessness and folly, before the light began to shine on my dark and devious road! and, even since, how often have my thoughts strayed far from Him who is alone the way, the truth, and the life! . . . Now never do I pass the General Thanksgiving of our church, without including my thanks for the "means of grace and the hope of glory."

Boston, Aug. 16, 1832.

I should have written to you sooner, but waited in the hope of Mr. Crocker fulfilling his promise of procuring me Combe's book; which, I presume, he found it impossible to do. I send you, in lieu of it, "Saturday Evening," thinking you possibly may not have procured it; or that, if you have, you will have a copy to give to your friends. Boston continues perfectly healthy, and without precursory symptoms of the epidemic. This has been the case in other places. The occurrences at the State Prison, which you have seen in the papers, appear to me to have arisen from some article of bad food, affecting persons in a confined atmosphere, who were predisposed by the season, and by some unusual atmospheric influence, to have the disease; for the affection occurred at the Charlestown Almshouse, and at the House of Industry in South Boston, No person has died, nor is expected to die, in any of these places. The epidemic is extending itself into Virginia. The last report from Norfolk is thirty-four new cases; Philadelphia, about a hundred and forty; New York, diminishing. I have a letter from the last city, of August 10, which firmly asserts the fact, that no deaths have occurred in temperate and cleanly persons, unless by some imprudent exposure.

My health and that of my family are good. We continue to follow Dr. Hopkins, who is doing great good. The last lecture was crowded to a degree; large numbers being obliged to stand in the aisles. Every lecture, even when the weather has not been favorable, has been fully attended.

The weather, the last three days, has been magnificent, and has spread a lustre over the beautiful surface of nature, which swells the feelings with gratitude to the God of the universe. How inexpressibly fine must be the mountain scenery now! Oh! I assure you, I am there in spirit to sym-

pathize in the greatness and the beauty of that wild place. Farewell, my dear friend: neither the mountain air, nor the fine scenery, nor a delightful retirement, will give you health, without constant attention to yourself, and a serene mind, which you know when to find, and where only it is to be found. Write to me of your ascent; and believe me, as ever,

Your friend,

JOHN C. WARREN.

BOSTON, Sept. 1, 1832.

I have been trying, for some days, to get an opportunity of thanking you for your very delightful letter, and informing you how we get on. There have been now four cases of cholera: the last occurred yesterday in a poor drinking woman of bad character. I examined the body of the first who died, and was over it from one to two hours, on one of our hottest afternoons, and without the least inconvenience. The appearances were very striking and interesting, and characteristic of the complaint. It gratified me to have an opportunity of showing my profession and the public, that these examinations could be made without danger of contagion. The public mind is evidently more tranquil than before the disease appeared here. How it will be when the complaint is more extended, is not perfectly certain. The premonitory affection has been pretty general for some time back. This with other considerations lead to the expectation of more cases. My afternoons must now be employed in visiting patients, instead of riding into the country.

I am sorry you think of leaving P., because the air is so pure, and the place so retired. There are bounds to the pleasures of solitude, and perhaps you have reached them. I heard of your case of Miss ——, and remarked to my

informant how fortunate it was she had the aid of a mind disciplined to do good, without dread of consequences. If I rightly understand the matter, your house is so far cleansed that you can admit new comers. I do not expect to be there myself: the amount of sickness is too great.

Do not cease to give me your prayers. I cannot describe the satisfaction I have in the assurance, that I have one who intercedes with Him, — who is ready to intercede for all; and the affairs of life make me so negligent, that I greatly feel the want of such aid.

Boston, Dec. 10, 1832.

How dependent we are on others for happiness, instead of looking to the supreme Source of good alone for all our comforts! I was delighted with the extracts from Miss G.'s letters, and have made use of them to give consolation where it was much required.

This extraordinary cholera has disappeared from Boston long since; but, about three weeks ago, it broke out in the House of Industry, and has carried off thirty to forty poor people. The School of Anatomy has reaped benefit from this visitation; for these subjects do not decompose like others, being drained of fluids, and, of course, dry and wholesome. — Otherwise, we are admirably healthy here. We have had snow; but now the weather is mild and moist.

Our minister gains on public opinion. Last week were sold seven pews in the church; giving us seven new proprietors. The Tuesday-evening lectures have begun, and have exceeded our expectations. Bishop Hopkins has gone with all his family to Vermont. Mrs. —— died fourteen days since. She suffered much before death; and, the day pre-

vious, said to me, "When will this terminate?" I told her these sufferings were the visitation of Supreme Goodness, and ought not to be met with impatience, but a full confidence in his goodness, and resignation to his decrees. To this she appeared fully to assent. That night she suffered quietly. The next was peaceful, but heavy. At six, P.M., she lost her consciousness, and died at nine. I was present, which she much desired, at the time. I received her last sigh, closed her eyes, and composed her limbs. She died sitting up in a chair. I found, as I had informed both her and her friends, the left side of the chest full of water. She left precise directions as to her funeral, and distributed mementoes to her friends. It is a subject of deep regret to me that I had not opportunity to converse more fully on the affairs of another state of being. But it was impracticable. Her friends were always present. It was only at momentary intervals of their absence, that she seemed willing to approach the subject of religion. She is in the hands of a gracious God. May he pardon and accept her!

Mrs. —— continues very ill, though not absolutely failing. Her mind is devoted principally to preparations for the great change.

How do you get on? How are your brother and the little girl? Remember me to my patient, the old black woman. I hope the climate of Georgia suits her better than ours.

BOSTON, Aug. 26, 1833.

It is quite a gratification to me to learn that Princeton and Wachusett continue to be interesting to you. I formed an affection for the mountain long before I approached it. Whether this sentiment was inspired by the mystery which

seems to hang over the summit, and the dark recesses of a lofty mountain; or its grandeur, as part of a fine piece of scenery; or whether its sublimity raises our thoughts more near to the great Author than other objects, — I know not. I leave the question to your mind. The description of the scenery of the thunder-shower, and the golden vapors which followed it, were, to me, inexpressibly grand and elevating. . . .

. . . When we ascend such an elevation, filled as we always are with the human world which is about us, and find, that, of the multitude of living beings we have left below, not one individual is visible, — then, indeed, we can realize the insignificance of man, and the greatness of his Creator.

The hints respecting the direction of the thoughts of young people, I prize; and shall, I hope, be able to make use of them in practice.

We have letters to-day from M——. Mr. and Mrs. —— are in Paris. She looks remarkably well. Mr. —— is under the hands of Dupuytren; laid on his back, but without the apprehension of any serious result. Dr. B—— has arrived home, our nephew G——, and my son. The town continues perfectly healthy, and is quite filled with strangers, among whom I have discovered some interesting persons. The convocation of teachers, too, is in session; and to-day there was a discussion on phrenology. I was asked to attend; but I think my thoughts and reflections, such as they are, may be directed to more profitable subjects. For the last two or three weeks, I have been employed in the daily study of the fifteenth chapter of Corinthians, with the hope of being enabled to associate my thoughts more closely with a view of the immense and eternal unseen; and I have run over, in connection with it, the evidences of Bon-

net, with great satisfaction. Wilberforce is dead. What recollections does this name revive!

BOSTON, Aug. 24, 1834.

Not a word have I heard from you, my dear friend, since I left Boston. It is now too old a matter to ask about; but I should have been glad to know how you got on with my friend Mrs. ——, as I did not see her after her return. I cast my eyes towards the high mountain, as it were, to get some news of you; but the mountain, and the clouds which cover it, speak only of their great Author. Do you recollect the lines in Montgomery's poem on the Deity? I do not know any thing of poetry that comes nearer to my heart.

> "There is a voiceless eloquence on earth,
> Telling of Him who gave her wonders birth;
> And long may I remain the adoring child
> Of Nature's majesty, sublime or wild.
> Hill, flood, and forest, mountain, rock, and sea,
> All take their terrors and their charms from thee, —
> From thee, whose hidden but supreme control
> Moves through the world, a universal soul."

You may recollect I have mentioned to you, there is a spot at South Boston, where, from the road, you get a fine view of the summit of Wachusett. I never pass without straining my eyes to get a glimpse of it. Some of my earliest and most pleasant associations are connected with it; and this interest is strengthened by its having been the scene of the last journey I took with my departed friend Dr. Gorham.

We have letters from Mr. S——, our minister, who informs us he shall return in October. In the mean time, St. Paul's is closed on account of its repairs. Dr. B—— is

here, and has been thundering against the Catholics; rather unfortunately, as the burning of the convent took place the day after his sermon. Mr. ——, of Salem Street, preached at Nahant last Sunday; and, having a chance at a fair shot at the Unitarian congregation which resort there, he discharged on them the full doctrine of original sin; whereas, had he have given them a mild sermon with the surprising talent in which he is so rich, they would have said, "These Calvinists are not quite so bad as we thought."

Boston is filled with strangers, and among them a number of Georgians.

Boston, Jan. 25, 1835.

Your letter, my dear friend, I received in proper time. Before its reception, I had already written and forwarded one to you. The hand of Providence has been conspicuous in sparing your people from the ravages of the epidemic; and I have no doubt you have employed the remarkable preservation to place in strong light the divine goodness as well as power. The miracles of nature and of grace are too familiar to awaken our sensibilities; but a personal preservation rouses all our love and gratitude. Since I wrote you, our Mr. Stone has been most industriously employed in endeavoring to bring his people to more distinct and decided feelings on religious subjects. His sermons have been excellent, and delivered with that expression of interest and zeal that convinced them how much he himself felt for their welfare. He had a meeting of three successive days in St. Paul's, at which were assembled the most evangelical part of the Episcopal clergy. The intensity of the cold at the time prevented much attendance on the part of the

people: besides, they really did not understand its object. After the meetings, he assembled the ladies of the parish at his house, and made them better acquainted with his views. A large society was immediately formed to aid him; and this will be probably followed by a similar one of the other sex. His Bible-class is re-opened, and fully attended. The church is small in numbers; and I cannot but hope there will arise a spirit of a healthy and permanent nature.

. . . . . I came in contact with your sister, a short time since, at a poor lady's (Mrs. Baldwin's), who had lost her two remaining children, where she was employed in administering the only consolation and relief which applies itself to such a distressing case. Mrs. Baldwin told me she had received the fullest satisfaction and comfort from the visits of Mrs. G——; that she was entirely satisfied of the wisdom and goodness of the decree which had deprived her of all her children. She is now herself affected with the fever which proved fatal to her sons; and will probably soon rejoin them, where disease shall be known no more. By the brig "William," Ira Smith, master, I send you "Combe," "McLellan," and some pamphlets. I wish I could find you something else. Is there any thing I can send for your people? Remember me to your family, and to Daphne, who, I am pleased to hear, thought of me. After a tremendous turn of cold weather, the last three weeks have been spring-like. Pray take good care of your health, and let me know how you are.

Faithfully yours,

J. C. WARREN.

Boston, March 6, 1836.

Your interesting letter I received in proper time. The death of Dr. Charlton was rather unusual in its form; but I feel satisfied that no physician and no human aid could have varied the course of this disease. Our beneficent Parent has bestowed the knowledge of many wonderful virtues in plants and minerals, and we must be grateful for it; while, on the other part, every day and every hour present instances of the utter helplessness of human art. The trials you have gone through are the refiners of the heart, — the purifiers of the spirit from its earthly dross. The more you are tried, the more perfect your renovation. You have had much to suffer, and much to enjoy. What an influence it has pleased the great Disposer of events to give you over the minds of others! Be thankful for it, and be humble.

I have not seen your sister's family lately; but I apprehend their temporalities are much improved by the happy termination of the French negotiation. And I most sincerely rejoice in it; believing, as I do, that adversity has so deeply planted in their hearts the seeds of pious thoughts, that no luxuriance of prosperity can root them out. . . .

Our winter has been a fine one. The first snow fell on the 23d of November; and, from that day, there has been an intermisson of sleighing of two or three days only. At present, the snow lies about two or three feet deep in most parts of the country. On the sixth day of March, the snow-banks, or rather ice-banks, are so high, that, in the cross-ways in Washington Street, steps are cut from the side-ways (two or three in number) to enable us to traverse the street. Still, it has been a fine, healthy season; and the whole country is in a most favorable condition for vegetation.

Your suggestions of the expediency of making a change in my professional pursuits have sunk deep into my heart; and I feel more than ever a deep sense of my omissions, and a desire for retirement from the world to repair them. There is a thought which stands in my way. I ask myself, what were the purposes of the Creator in placing me here, giving me experience, and the power of administering relief to my fellow-mortals? Which will be most agreeable in his eyes,—a life of pious thought, or of useful action? Is not the daily recognition of his power and providence, when intermixed with all the acts of life, a more acceptable offering than retirement and contemplation? Cannot I accomplish more by pouring into the ear, which sickness has opened, a seasonable word on righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, than a reputed religionist could do? A friend of mine, to whom I was expressing my painful sense of the omission of some occasional religious duties, told me, "Many people consider you a fanatic!" I must stop, and leave these matters for a personal discussion, if it should be the will of God that we meet again on earth.

What led to the conversation alluded to, was the discovery that some members of our church were thought to be making movements for getting up a revival. A real springing-up of religious feeling among us I ardently wish for. A revival brought on by certain machinery, I fear, can do us no real good. Yet I would not stand in its way.

Have you ever seen Noah Webster's translation of the Bible? It has been much satirized; but I have rather a favorable feeling towards it.

Present my kind regards to your friends, not forgetting my former colored patient; and accept the sincere salutations of J. C. WARREN.

Boston, May 1, 1836.

I wish you could have disclosed to me the sources of your anxiety when you last wrote. . . . When you are troubled by things here below, look upwards, and you will see a light that will dispel these transient clouds. There is nothing that is great enough *here* to be a cause of two days' *excitement.* I use the physiological or naturo-pathological term; knowing you have had the good fortune to take lessons in these sciences — i. e., physiology and pathology — from an elevated source, and that etiology has not escaped your attention.

The snows have dissolved, and we have now a fine spring temperature; but I have witnessed this day a solid cake of ice, twelve or fourteen feet long and a foot thick. I wish you had given me an account of your winter; for I am curious on that point, and like much to know what is going on in different parts of the globe at the same moment.

Our Mr. S—— is quite in spirits. His convocation was fully attended; his lectures have been more resorted to, and the appearance of religious feeling more sensible in his church. Dr. W—— has been threatening to go to New York; and, having abandoned this idea, is now going on a voyage to England. . . .

Your views of my position are very correct and very useful. It is difficult for any one to see himself, take what pains he may, unless he has a friend to hold the mirror. My estimation of the things of this world is very moderate. My heart is with my God and Saviour, I know. I desire to live only in his sight, and to promote his will. Yet weakness, and want of judgment, and the defect of early feeling and habit, lead me to omit the things I ought to do. One thing I do not omit, — a frequent contemplation of the final, irrevocable, and speedy change; and, trusting humbly

in the atoning blood of my Redeemer, I hope my omissions and transgressions may be washed away, and my aspirations for the Supreme Good wafted to the Eternal Presence.

BOSTON, 27th of November, 1836.

What a world of new ideas have you opened to me, by recommending the "Physical Theory of Another Life"! Certainly it is one of the most ingenious theories and closely argued works in our language. It carries us into the invisible world by steps so gradual, that we can scarcely believe we are soaring above the atmosphere of our good old mother earth. However, we are still inhabitants of this sublunary planet; and so I will proceed to tell you a little of what has been going on here. Our good rector has had a call to a newly formed parish in Brooklyn, N.Y.

. . . . . .

Mr. Clark is settled at Grace Church. If he holds out as he has begun, he will be an extraordinary person. Mr. —— has gone, though reluctantly. H. was so much troubled about it as to be perfectly deranged in health, and is now under my care for a hepatic complaint, but not confined at home by it. . . . His domestic establishment I found entirely revolutionized, — not a person that I knew. Whitee came to see me before her departure, and took an affectionate leave. We have had a melancholy event in the death of my niece, — this in her first confinement. She died in the possession of full consciousness of her state, and took an affectionate leave of all about her. I congratulate you on being out of our cold region. In the last three days, we have had a most wintry clime, — below freezing through the day, which is rare in winter.

I have thought much of your advice in regard to a voyage.

May the Almighty protect you, and receive you into everlasting mansions of bliss!

J. C. W.

PARIS, Dec. 10, 1837.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — When we heard of the loss of the steamboat, there was some doubt whether it was a Charleston or Savannah boat; so that you may well think I had no little anxiety till the facts were known. As such accidents produce additional care for a season, your voyage will be more secure than usual. Your sufferings, physical and mental, in regard to your trouble, I have thought a good deal of. As you have got relieved, and I trust effectually, it is perhaps better that you should have been under the care of one who had not exactly the tremulous interest of a near relation. Pray let me know, when next you write, whether you are quite well. After I wrote you, we had a long and pleasant expedition in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Among the places which most deeply interested me was York. We were there of a beautiful, bright Sunday. In the morning, I left my hotel alone, and walked to see the Cathedral. I had heard very much of it; but when this tremendous structure, with its dark walls and towers and pinnacles, burst suddenly upon me, the sublime spectacle, though I am not given to the melting mood, almost brought tears. Near it are the very ancient, extensive, and beautiful views of the Abbey of St. Mary. Towards sunset, I started through the crumbling, Gothic vaults, among scattered columns and richly wrought capitals; thought of the long-past hymns which their ruins had echoed; thought of distant friends and a futurity, — how distant, I know not.

As, however, my object is to see men rather than things, I have, as much as possible, passed my time in the great cities. In Edinburgh I found extraordinary kindness and hospitality, and made some valuable acquaintances; among others, that of a lady, who, accidentally hearing that we were there, called on us because we were Americans, asked us to her house, and continued her attentions and hospitalities all the time of our visit. I was anxious to see Mr. Erskine, our old friend, who has given us so many topics for conversation. But he is now placed quietly forty miles from Edinburgh; has relinquished Tongues and Irvingism; and is deeply engaged in writing a commentary on Romans. I sought the Church of Tongues; and, as nobody could give me any distinct information, found it with difficulty; entered as service was about to begin. Instead of finding every thing to gratify curiosity, I found only a small congregation of decent people, very devotional, and with some peculiarities in forms not very remarkable. Dr. Chalmers did not preach while I was there, and among the Scotch preachers, I met nothing extraordinary. The Scotch Presbyterians are as exclusive as the English Episcopalians; and, odd as it may seem, they do not allow other churches (even Episcopal) the title of churches: they are called chapels, and are not allowed to have bells to call the people together. From Edinburgh we went to the Highlands; thence, by Glasgow, to Liverpool, where I had an interesting week with the British Association; thence, through Wales, to Anglesea and Ireland. In the beautiful Valley Llangollen, in the heart of Wales (the place where resided the two maiden ladies described by Puckler Muskau, and where now is seen their monument), I met, at a grocery, a temperance man, and had a very interesting conversation with him, and stimulated him to proceed in the good way. They don't know much about temperance in this country, —

i.e., in England and France. Ireland we found peculiarly interesting. Crossed from Waterford to Bristol, and passed some days in Bath. In this delightful place we expected to have heard the Rev. Mr. Jay, but were disappointed. On the following day, however, Mrs. Warren found him out while I was in the hospital, had a fine talk with him, and received his sermons as a keepsake. We had a very agreeable, unexpected meeting with old friends, the Misses Ross. On returning to London, we spent a day or two at Lord Bexley's, and had an opportunity of seeing a British nobleman and politician, a friend of religion and science, and of kneeling with him in domestic devotion, in which himself officiated. This leads me to think of Lady Byron, to whom we also made a visit. She has a strong cast of melancholy; but came out on the subject of physical and religious education, in which she is deeply engaged. She has a large school for the poor, which she in a great measure supports.

We have now been in Paris a month, and shall remain here, as we expect, about two weeks more; then for Italy. I can only say, at present, we have excellent Christian meetings here, in English and French, according to our form and others. Paris is amazingly interesting to me on the score of hospitals, scientific meetings, and private society. They treat me most hospitably, with more distinction than I deserve. As to other matters, I can only say, that your good sense and your reading will keep you from homœopathy, phrenology, and animal magnetism. If Mr. B. comes in your way, neither seek nor avoid him. May you be continued in health and usefulness, and finally receive the Christian's crown, is the prayer of

Your friend,

J. C. Warren.

PARIS, April 21, 1838.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — When I last wrote to you, we were on the point of leaving Paris for Italy. We accordingly went off, on the 29th of December, in a carriage containing our party and *courier*, who is an indispensable companion in these continental expeditions. We hired a coach for the whole route, and changed horses every six or eight miles. Our journey through France was not particularly interesting till we descended the Rhone, when the old Roman, Gothic, and Saracenic castles, towering over the craggy precipices on the river, some of them placed where it would be difficult to climb, — these ruins, the rapid river, the remains of Roman monuments and villas, make this a delightful passage. At Avignon we saw the ancient palace of the Popes, and many curious old monuments. Embarking at Marseilles, we touched at Genoa, Leghorn, Civita Vecchia ; and reached Naples in safety, after a dangerous passage. Here, in the middle of January, every thing had the aspect of May, — peaches and almonds in blossom ; trees loaded with oranges and lemons ; plenty of fresh vegetables. It was, indeed, very luxurious. Then the classical objects in its neighborhood — above all, Pompeii, where you make a visit to old Rome, and revive the manners of two thousand years since — make this, perhaps, the most interesting place in Europe. From Naples we went to Rome, mighty in her ruins. I cannot write any thing which will convey to you my internal agitations on entering this place. But you can imagine it, as your imagination has never lost its wings, rude as the storms which have assailed it may have been. Imagine, then, yourself entering under the ancient wall and ruinous gateway ; and as soon as you have passed the towering remains of aque-

ducts and temples, in a few minutes, the gigantic Colosseum appearing, you can conceive what would be your emotions. Rome was fine indeed, but altogether different from what I expected. We passed near a month there; saw his Holiness, and talked with him; — then went to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Padua, Verona; crossed the snow-covered Alps to Innspruck, Munich, Augsburg, Ulm, Heidelburg, Frankfort, Cologne. We paid our respects to "Farina" down the castle-bearing Rhine. From the Rhine to Aix la Chapelle; over Waterloo to Brussels; thence to Paris; passing a hundred battle-fields, through fortified towns, in the midst of robbers, avalanches, inundations; sometimes annoyed by the police; often hungry; lying in beds without blankets, with sheets generally presented to us wet, and usually long enough to cover all but the feet. What a delightful thing it is to make the grand tour, provided you have no friends, no comforts, and no business, at home! If you have these various contingencies, stay at home, and mind your business; and, if you have so little wit as to quit your comforts, the greatest pleasure I can promise you is, that, if you do return safe from such a journey, you will feel most happy and grateful that you have not been robbed, murdered, imprisoned, drowned; that your legs and arms are not fractured, and your head remains on the top of the vertebral column.

When I was at Paris before, we had the Rev. Mr. Baird and Rev. Mr. Kirk, of New York; we had a weekly meeting on Saturday evening (at Mr. Baird's) for devotional purposes, and various services on Sunday. At present, we rely on Colonel Thorn's chapel, where there are regular services and an excellent preacher, — an Englishman, quite evangelical.

We expect to leave Paris in May, and take passage in

July; so that I shall hope to see you before you leave the North for the winter. . . .

I have very much to do here and in London, and very little time to accomplish my labors. My work, though less regular, is more trying, more anxious, than at home. The variety, however, and the diminution of responsibility, will, I hope, prevent its wearing away much of my vitality.

Accept the prayers and kind wishes of your friend,

J. C. WARREN.

BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1838.

My life has been a busy one since you left us. The introduction of improvements, giving lectures, attending the Hospital, and devising and performing difficult operations, have given me as much work as my shoulders would bear. I now keep a regular journal, which I did not before. Whether it will be worth any thing, is quite uncertain. I want eyes and strength to digest my foreign journal, and bring it out; but fear I shall never have force to accomplish it. I feel much trouble as to my religious progress; for I find that the regular cultivation of devotional feeling is impracticable in the way I could wish: yet I cannot perceive any diminution of the sentiment which leads me to acknowledge my entire unworthiness, my sole confidence on the merits of a redeeming Saviour, nor of the near approach of the time when I must give an account of my talents. I often imagine myself ill, dying and dead, and attempt to take a view of my subsequent condition; and all this with reference to my present conduct. May the Almighty protect you from evil apprehension, is the prayer of your friend

J. C. WARREN.

Boston, 16th February, 1839.

My dear Friend, — My eyes have been so entirely worn by my necessary labors, that I have been utterly unable to gratify myself with writing a line I could omit, without neglect of imperious professional duties; otherwise you would not have had an opportunity of reproaching me with the want of good faith, which opportunity you have been so kind as not to use. I was delighted with your letter. The picture you give of your occupations affords me an admirable view of your situation; and I doubt whether you could be more useful in any other sphere. You have enjoyed a great influence on society, and you have employed it worthily. Perhaps the period has arrived when your talents may be employed in a more extensive sphere. You have more ability for producing a valuable book than the greater number of those who write. Why not begin?

My winter has been a busy one. I found my lectures were to be attended by a respectable body of our established physicians. This increased my responsibility, and my desire to give every thing of new discovery. My practice, less in amount, has been of a nature to require thought; so that I am well worn. By the goodness of Providence, I have had no illness since I left London. I have written nothing, — not even answers to foreign correspondents.

Our lecture-room, or vestry, or chapel, is open; and Mr. Stone seems to enjoy it highly. His sermons this winter have been strong and searching. The great topic the winter has been temperance; and every thing out of the range of the Boston groceries appears favorable to it. The subject is still before a Committee of the Legislature, and the public hearings attract a great attendance. Mr. F. Gray has gained high reputation by his lectures. The lecture-room of the Temple is crowded to excess. Dr. F.

is taking an active part at the Warren-street Chapel. Our winter is quite mild; no sleighing. I hear about you frequently, and how much you are thought of. Pray, do you think of the White Mountains for next summer?

Faithfully your friend,

J. C. WARREN.

BOSTON, May 14, 1839.

Your very pleasant letter, bringing, as it did, assurance of your and your family's health, was a lasting pleasure to me. To be sure you were, and I suppose always will be, very much occupied; but you are all the better for that, my dear friend, because you are less likely to be disturbed with those troublesome thoughts which your enlarged imagination is apt to involve. The hospitalities of your country are inconceivable to us Yankees. I must come and see you for myself.

By the blessing of Providence, my family and kin are well, and in as good a state of feeling as we deserve to be. At this time, all things here seem prosperous. The license-law stood all the shocks to which it was exposed. The dram-shops have disappeared; and, although there is much secret drinking, the consumption is greatly diminished. An organization is now formed in each of the wards to see the law enforced. A missionary effort is making in our church, which cannot fail to produce a large contribution. A new chapel is on foot at the same time. In fact, we are full of new chapels, though not all of the best kind. Will you have the kindness to ask your brother to have procured for me a small alligator, about two feet long; to have it tucked into a little keg of spirits, and sent to his correspondent here, with a note of the expenditure?

My wish is to get the skeleton only. He need not be sent alive, — a mistake which once happened to me through the agency of a black friend in Africa, who caused an orang-outang to be caught alive for me; though happily the poor animal did not abide long: but I had to pay for his bones. To think of Miss —— having discharged my friend —— —— at the last moment, after the wedding-cake was baked! When will ladies learn to know their own minds?

Farewell, says your friend

JOHN C. WARREN.

BROOKLINE, 6th June, 1840.

It was quite a relief to me to get a letter from you; for I knew your eyes were bad, . . . and I was seriously apprehensive you could not employ them in any literary operations. I have been prodigiously consoled and relieved by the use of a reader, through whose interposition a new world of science has been opened to me this winter. There has been a considerable religious movement this season. I wish it would reach our church, and am not without hopes it may; but we are asleep at present. I was glad you spoke of Mr. W.'s death; for I had thought a deal about it, and was quite at a loss to understand the principles on which he had acted. We shall hope to have an opportunity of speculating on his history.

It will be delightful to me to get the alligators, as well for the associated recollections as for the interest I have in regard to the order. I have made great advances in the study of comparative anatomy this winter. There was a gap to be filled by this pleasing animal, which your bro-

ther's kindness has supplied. The further I have pursued this subject, the more wonderful have I found the work of the great Creator. The contemplation of the universe is too vast for a human mind; but the variation of the same organs from the highest animal to the lowest vegetable, the use of the most simple elements to compose and accommodate the most complete structures, strikes me now and then like a flash of light. We are now in the country, which is most beautiful. My kindest regards to Mr. and Mrs. K., and believe me

Sincerely yours,

J. C. WARREN.

BOSTON, 21st March, 1841.

Your letter, my dear friend, was most seasonable, as I had heard nothing about you since your departure in October; and most gratifying, as it told me of yourself and friends, — subjects in which my interest is deepened. I should have long since written a few lines; but my eyes, exercised too much in dissections, have not allowed me to read or write any thing of consequence, and I have been obliged to rely on others. My eyes, however, by the good will of Providence, see well for a short time.

Dr. Stevens, of whom you speak, is a highly distinguished person, and his notions of the blood very generally adopted, owing partly to his excellent work, of which he had the goodness to send me a copy. You do not tell me how you met with him.

This winter has been rendered interesting by the labors of Mr. Kirk, which have been very successful among people not often touched with religious warmth. The fruits he has produced will, I hope, grow to a rich maturity among us.

Dr. Stone's congregation is decidedly enlarged by the converts made by Mr. Kirk.

Our temperance matters have taken a new impulse, and look delightfully. I have been pained by hearing the death of my old friend Sir A. Cooper. It is also just now the season of the year, and I at the precise point of life at which my father died.

Boston, April 17, 1842.

My dear Friend, — With the greatest pleasure, I heard of your safe arrival; though I should have been glad to hear more about you.

Our church is quite awakened. We have had morning service for near a month, and attendance of excellent persons not Episcopalians. . . . My own health is good, but eyes very bad.

Remember, I pray you, my advices. Mrs. S. C. Gray, your neighbor, is severely afflicted in the lungs. Her death will be a great loss. Our season is quite forward, and my visits to Brookline have begun.

I remain your faithful friend,

J. C. Warren.

Rev. Justin Edwards to Dr. Warren.

No. 3, Beacon Street, Boston, Dec. 6, 1842.

(Extract.) "Your opinion as a medical man added much to the value of the temperance documents; and those opinions are now operating on the millions who read them. I am desirous of your written opinion with regard to the Sabbath."

Dr. Warren to Dr. Edwards.

BOSTON, Dec. 21, 1842.

DEAR SIR, — By your communication of the 6th of December, I was gratified to learn that you had undertaken to enlighten the public mind in regard to the importance of a due observance of the Sabbath. Your very successful efforts in the cause of temperance have extended their influence to the most remote parts of the earth; and it is, therefore, highly gratifying to the friends of religion and good order that you have taken in hand this important subject.

Agreeably to your request, I have examined the English documents in the publication you sent me relating to this subject. I concur entirely in the opinion expressed by Dr. Farre, whom I personally know as a physician of the highest respectability. The utility of observing the Sabbath as a day of rest, considered in a secular view, rests upon one of the most general of the laws of nature, — the law of periodicity. The light of day alternates with the obscurity of night: the bustle and activity of the former is followed by a state of repose and sleep during the latter. The rapid movement of the vegetable world in summer is succeeded by a state of torpor through the winter. The life of the whole vegetable and animal creation consists in a succession of movement and tranquillity; and, without this succession, their movement would soon flag, and their vitality be ultimately extinguished.

The facts you have collected, and will be able to collect, in support of the observance of the Sabbath, are so numerous, and so easily obtained, that it would be useless for me to attempt to add to them. I will only remark, that, so far as my observation has extended, those persons who are in the habit of avoiding worldly cares upon the Sabbath, are

those most remarkable for perfect performance of their duties during the week. The influence of a change of thought on the Sabbath, upon the minds of such persons, resembles that of a change of food upon the body. It seems to give a fresh spring to the mental operations, as the latter does to the physical. I have a firm belief, that such persons are able to do more work, and do it better, in six days, than if they worked the whole seven.

The breathing the pure and sublime atmosphere of a religious Sabbath refreshes and invigorates the mind, and forms the best preparation for the labors of the following week.

With best wishes for the success of your undertaking,

I remain very truly yours,

J. C. Warren.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOSPITAL. — MUMMY. — BUNKER-HILL MONUMENT. — VISIT TO CONCORD. — VISIT TO OLD HOUSES. — PRACTICE. — LETTER TO JUDGE PARKER.

In the year 1820, the Massachusetts General Hospital was opened. It differed from other institutions of this nature, in the comparative elegance of its structure and accommodations. There were not, at the time, great numbers that required its advantages. The native population were generally well off, and had comfortable homes. However poor, they preferred to be taken care of at their own residences, and felt a strong prejudice against entering a hospital. The foreign population was then small. It is to be recollected that peace with England was declared in 1815; and as a British subject has no power to renounce his allegiance, in whatever part of the world he may live, but must remain a British subject for life, the immigrants from England, Scotland, or Ireland, were comparatively few. The Boston Dispensary supplied the deserving destitute with medicine and medical attendance at their houses. It was long before the superior advantages of a hospital were understood. The accommodations, therefore, were intended to give to a few, in a superior style, every thing which

their comfort or well-doing demanded. The poor patient was sure of receiving all the care and attention, and of having every thing which would promote his cure, equally with the rich. The man of property might find all the accommodations of his own house, in addition to those remedial measures, such as baths, apparatus, and nurses of superior order, which he could not obtain at home. There was nothing left undone which care, medical skill, cleanliness, pure air, perfect ventilation, and strict discipline, could accomplish. Nothing was wanting that could contribute to the ultimate success of an operation or the cure of a disease. The origin, arrangement, and, in a great degree, control, of this institution, in its earlier years, belonged to Drs. Jackson and Warren. The trustees acted by their advice, as the persons most interested in its welfare, and best qualified by their profession to superintend it.

Dr. Warren was chosen surgeon three years previous to the opening of the hospital; that is to say, on the 6th of April, 1817: and, at the same time, Dr. James Jackson was chosen physician of the institution.

The first patient was received on Sept. 3, 1821. On Sept. 4, Dr. Warren was appointed by the trustees to draught an address to the public.

In the year 1823 (May 4), Mr. Van Lennep sent here, from Thebes in Egypt, a first-rate Egyptian mummy, through the agency of Mr. Bryant P. Tilden.

This mummy was given to the hospital; and, it being thought that some money might be made for the hospital by the public exhibition of it, Dr. Warren was desired to write a description for the "Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts." In writing this paper, he was led to study Egyptian antiquities, and especially to consult Diodorus and Herodotus. It was probably at the time the most complete description of a mummy; for no *good one* had as yet been carried to Europe.

The exhibition was very successful, and brought in between two and three thousand dollars. The mummy remains in the hospital, unaltered, since the time it was opened.

In connection with this account of the mummy, and of the mode of preservation of dead bodies, Dr. Warren alludes to the singular preservation of a gentleman's body near Boston, which had lain in the ground many years, and was still so entire that the features were at once recognized by those who knew him when living. The skin he found quite firm and strong, the flesh of the arms solid: the cellular membrane resembled the grain of the under surface of leather. Mr. William B. Shedd, who has recently written notes upon the history of Malden, supposes this to have been the body of Mr. Timothy Sprague, of that town, who died from the bite of a snake in 1765, and whose body existed in that condition in 1817, — more than fifty years after death.

Engd. for Southworth.

J.W. Watts Engr.

The Massachusetts General Hospital

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In 1823, on the suggestion of W. Tudor, Esq., I purchased three acres of land across the top of Bunker Hill, where the action of June 17, 1775, was fought.

I applied to General Sullivan, Messrs. Webster, Ticknor, Prescott, Mr. Benjamin Russell, printer, and others. They held various meetings on the subject; and in 1824, General Lafayette being on a visit to Boston, I met him at the monument of General Warren on Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, and invited him to attend at the same place on that day a year, to lay the corner-stone of a monument to be erected. In the mean time, a great subscription was got up, and the corner-stone was actually laid by Lafayette, and a fine oration pronounced by Mr. Webster, in presence of a hundred thousand persons.

The monument went on under the architectural superintendence of Mr. Solomon Willard, who published a history, and gave a view of the form and size of each separate stone of which the monument was built. After this, I was, for a number of years, chosen Chairman of the Building Committee of the monument. The business was to regulate the expenditures, provide money, and superintend the construction. A great deal of time and labor were necessarily expended in this work.

Finding that the work was going behindhand, the Committee, consisting of Colonel Perkins, William Sullivan, Amos Lawrence, and myself, borrowed money on our private responsibility, to the amount of thirty-two thousand dollars, or eight thousand dollars apiece. This debt hung over us for a number of years; but it was ultimately settled by taking and dividing the extra land of Bunker Hill,

which, after holding a number of years, we sold, and were in part re-imbursed. The negotiation by which we were extricated from this dilemma was accomplished by the talent and zeal of William Appleton, Esq., whose name, if I should mention all the good he has done for the public within my knowledge, and all the acts of friendship he has shown to my family, would appear in every page. Mr. Appleton is a merchant, the son of a clergyman, who, with but little aid from friends, and with ill health almost uninterrupted for the space of thirty years, acquired a very large fortune. This he has employed with great liberality in aiding public works, particularly religious and benevolent purposes. But the quality for which he is most remarkable is his disposition and ability to aid friends who have fallen into a state of embarrassment from any cause. . . .

Soon after the time mentioned above, a revolution was accomplished in the government of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, by a party called Antimasons, who were anxious to take down the monument to the foundation, and remove the deposit, because the ceremony of laying the corner-stone was performed by the Freemasons. By concealing their designs, this party succeeded in removing such officers as they thought proper, and substituting themselves. They allowed some of us to remain; of whom I had the honor to be one, being re-elected a Vice-President. The party did not accomplish any thing important, although many efforts were made to do so. In the course of the year, we contrived to arouse the people, particularly the mechanics; called the anniversary meeting of the succeeding year in Faneuil Hall, where some hundred members attended, and threw out the Antimasons without any ceremony.

The mechanics were, for the most part, substituted. By

new contributions, fairs, &c., the monument was at length completed; and, in the year 1843, a magnificent oration was pronounced by Mr. Webster, who had also delivered the opening address in 1825. The ceremony, like the first, was of the most imposing character. When the monument was completed, it was expected to have been resigned to the charge of the State Government; but, the government not assuming it, the association continued to hold it.

In the year 1849, at my suggestion, I was authorized to deposit three blocks of granite, — two indicating the position of the original breastwork, and one showing the place where General Warren fell. The relics of the original breastwork I had more than once preserved from destruction; for, notwithstanding my annual remonstrance, the breastwork was attacked, and the shovel was in operation to destroy its last remains, when I arrested the hand of the workman, and thus retained a portion of the original fortification thrown up on the 17th of June, 1755.

In September, 1825, Dr. Warren applied to the Governor and Council for the "Hancock" and "Adams" six-pounders, — two of the four pieces of artillery belonging to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts previous to the breaking-out of the Revolution. One of them he found was already burst. These he took care of, and kept till the monument was finished, and then sent them to be deposited in the chamber near its summit, where they now are.

He wrote the following letter in regard to them: —

TO THE PRESIDENT AND DIRECTORS OF THE BUNKER-HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION : —

GENTLEMEN, — When I had the honor of being Chairman of the Building Committee of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, I applied to the Governor of this Commonwealth for the revolutionary field-pieces, called the "Hancock" and the "Adams," with the view of connecting them with the Bunker-Hill Monument, and thus securing the preservation of these interesting relics of the Revolution.

The history of these field-pieces is probably known to the Directors. They are the only remains of the artillery belonging to the British-American Colonies at the beginning of the Revolutionary war. There were originally four of them. They were deposited in the Arsenal, or Laboratory as it was then called, at the corner of West Street. The town being in possession of a British army, it was daily expected they would be seized; and how they might be used, was a subject of anxious consideration among the patriotic spirits of that day. A plan for their rescue was boldly conceived and successfully executed. I was so fortunate as to receive the account of it from one of the actors in the scene.

At the time of changing the evening guard, the British sentinel was taken off for a short time to the Common, where the guard paraded. The moment was seized by our townsmen to enter the Laboratory, remove the four field-pieces to the adjoining schoolhouse of Master Colburn, where they were deposited under his writing-desk all the day following, and escaped the search which was made for them by the British officers. At evening, they were placed in a manure-cart going into the country, and were soon after brought into active service. Two of the four pieces were sent to Canada, and fell into the power of the British.

Two of them have been happily preserved, and are consecrated by the names of our great patriots, — Hancock and Adams. Your honorable Board are now to decide whether these valuable relics shall be in any way connected with the Bunker-Hill Monument. If they are not to be so connected, they are to be returned to the State, whose property they are.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, &c.

Boston, July, 1842.

Inscription on the "Hancock" and "Adams."

"Adams."

"Sacred to Liberty — This is one of four cannon which constituted the whole train of field-artillery possessed by the British Colonies of North America at the commencement of the war, on the 11th of April, 1775. This cannon and its fellow belonged to a number of citizens of Boston; was used in many engagements during the war.

"The other two, the property of the government of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

"By order of the United States, in Congress assembled, May 19, 1788."

Mr. Willard states that the estimated cost of the monument was one hundred thousand dollars.

In order to take advantage of the presence of Lafayette in this country, and also to commence this important structure upon the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, it was begun when the available funds amounted only to thirty-three thousand five hundred and seventy-six dollars, — or only one-third of the amount required for its completion in the cheapest manner proposed.

In the course of five years, these funds were consumed; and the work was discontinued from January, 1829, until the 17th of June, 1834; when it was again recommenced, and proceeded until November, 1835; when it was again discontinued, for the same reason as before.

Various causes, such as those already stated, and partly political, partly financial, had produced a feeling of indifference, and perhaps even some hostility, towards the monument; and no more funds could be obtained in the ordinary way.

It was now that the ladies of New England formed the design of showing their public spirit, and coming gloriously forth to the rescue. The Ladies' Fair was projected, and the enterprise was carried forward with the utmost zeal and enthusiasm. In September, 1840, the hall over Quincy Market was obtained for this purpose, and arrangements made with great skill and taste for the exhibition of the various articles prepared for the occasion by the ladies themselves, who also presided at the tables.

The season chosen was fortunate. The election of Harrison, for President of the United States, was then pending; and a mass-meeting in Boston filled the city to overflowing with an immense and enthusiastic multitude. Very large sums were received at the Fair; the public was once more interested in the undertaking, and what was wanted for its completion was soon obtained.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The feelings inspired by the meetings for the erection of the Bunker-Hill Monument led some of us to make a visit to the scene of the battle of Lexington. I had myself determined to give some account of this action, and particularly of its connection with the battle of Bunker Hill, in the fact of their both terminating at the same spot, though begun at a distance from each other; and also of the life of my relative, General Warren. For this purpose, I had a map engraved of the country from Boston to Concord inclusively, showing the locality of the different actions. In accomplishing this plan, I thought of visiting the points concerned; and Mr. Webster, George Blake, William Sullivan, and Isaac P. Davis, concurring in the plan, we, one day in the spring of 1824, set out together on this expedition. We went along Milk Row, in Cambridge, — the place where the British landed from Boston Common, and along which they marched in the night of April 18, 1775. We then noticed the house in West Cambridge, about half way between Cambridge Common and West-Cambridge Meeting-house, on the right, where were lodged John Hancock and Samuel Adams, the two patriots proscribed by the British, and whom it was their special office to capture. These gentlemen would, no doubt, have been taken, and have lost their lives, but for a timely warning sent to them by General Warren. He, having been watchful of the movements of the British troops in Boston, had ascertained that they were embarking on the 18th of April, and had consequently despatched Colonel Revere to rouse the country, and to give timely notice to Hancock and Adams. When Colonel Revere reached West Cambridge, — then called Menotomy, —

they were in bed. He awakened them. They dressed hastily; and, as they would no doubt have been taken if they had attempted to escape by the road, they fled across the fields to a house at some distance, where they remained during the night.

We next passed on to Lexington Common, where the first blood was spilt of that Revolution whose influences have extended through the civilized part of the globe. Here we saw the small lawn on which was drawn up a company of militia, some of whom were the first victims to be sacrificed on the altar of their country's good. We saw marks of the musket-balls which had been fired by the British soldiers; the church in which the bodies of the slain had been deposited; and we conversed with some elderly persons who had been there at the time of the action.

Among the older residents was the venerable Dr. Fiske, who favored us with many details of the action, and presented one of the cannon-balls fired by the British artillery, which I have in my possession. After many interesting conversations, and after examining the burying-ground where were the remains of those who were interred, we went to Concord. Having deposited our carriage at the tavern, and ordered our dinner, we sent to invite two or three gentlemen of the place to meet us; and we then paid a visit to the Rev. Dr. Ripley, who lived on the spot where the first contest took place between the British and Americans. At the bottom of his garden was a bridge formerly, which led to the object of the British expedition, — a storehouse containing provisions, and munition of war. Dr. Ripley showed us the place where, when the military approached, our people attempted to break up the bridge, fired upon the British, and tried to prevent their accomplishing the passage of the river.

After a very interesting examination of this spot, we carried Dr. Ripley to dinner, in order to enjoy more of his conversation. Having obtained from him and other gentlemen present many interesting facts, and suggested the idea of erecting a monument at Concord, we returned to Boston, and reached it at about the same hour as did the British after the battle of Lexington. The corner-stone of the monument at Concord was laid on the following 19th of April, 1825.

The plan for the map, which I had destined should accompany the account of the battle of Lexington, was left in the hands of the engravers, Annin and Smith, and lost or forgotten; so that, when I applied for it, Mr. Smith, the surviving partner, had no recollection on the subject. I have a note of his, however, which shows that he had engraved such a map, and was on the point of finishing it.

The papers relating to these matters I put into the hands of Mr. Bancroft, the American historian; for I found I could be more useful in my day and generation by devoting my labor to the healing of the sick, the promotion of good institutions, and the advancement of science, than I could be by any literary production of an historical character. Besides, I found, that while the papers and letters of General Warren, left by him on the eve preceding the battle of Lexington, were dissipated or destroyed, so that not a single letter remained, on the other hand, Mr. Bancroft, I knew, had at least six interesting letters. Mr. Bancroft has the means and the power of placing the character of General Warren on much higher ground than it has hitherto been placed, as a person of ability, of high patriotic spirit, and of indomitable resolution.

In the contests of family feeling and party prejudice which took place about the period of laying the corner-stone

of the Bunker-Hill Monument, many attempts were made to lessen the fair fame of some of the earliest and best patriots of the Revolution. At about that period, I was dining at the Honorable Judge Prescott's, son of Colonel Prescott, when a conversation took place on the Bunker-Hill battle; and, some remarks having been made as to the spot where General Warren was killed, a gentleman sitting next to me, of about my age, born and bred in Boston, said to me, "I thought it had been established that General Warren was not present at the battle of Bunker Hill."

On the 19th of April, 1824, the movements of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association having stimulated others, an oration was delivered at Concord by Edward Everett, which I attended; and, at about that period, Mr. Webster, George Blake, Isaac P. Davis, Honorable Judge Story, and others, made a party of exploration of Lexington Fight. We then visited Lexington, and other places concerned in this action, and gathered considerable information. Nearly the same party, at about the same time, made an exploration in the antiquities of the northern part of this town. We dined at Mr. Webster's, in Summer Street; and I then conducted the gentlemen to the stone house in Cross Street, where Sir Edmond Andros was imprisoned by the people in 1689, I think; thence to a house in North Square, built by Sir Harry Frankland about one hundred years since. It was ornamented by painted panels, surmounted with armorial bearings; was very large and handsome. Then to Governor Hutchinson's, which was the next house; afterwards to the house in Salem Street and Charter Street built by Sir William Phipps in 1680, I think; then to the Green-Dragon Tavern, in Union, near Hanover Street; and, finally, to the house in Tremont Street occupied by the Rev. Mr. Cotton. Soon after our visit, these houses

began to disappear; and at this time (1849) there is none remaining, except the first in Cross Street. The house in Cross Street was formerly a stone house, but is now covered by wood, so as not to be easily recognizable. When we made our visit, we could not discover it at first: but I invited the gentlemen to visit Dr. Ephraim Eliot, apothecary, who lived near, and was then an invalid in his chamber; and, by his direction, we found the stone house, enclosed on two sides with a wooden boxing. We were highly gratified by our visit, and the more so by its recollection, when, a few years after, we found nearly all these interesting objects were removed.

The Green-Dragon Tavern was formerly situated in a court, continuous with Union Street. This was the place of meeting of the Whig caucuses before the Revolution. General Warren, particularly, was in the habit of attending these meetings. There they met Paul Revere, and the bold mechanic Whigs of the North End, to arrange such executive movements as might be required from time to time. On our visit, we found the house inhabited by poor people, the rooms cut up into small apartments, and in some of the poorest rooms were seen the remains of gilded cornices, which had probably been set up by the Masonic fraternity for their celebrations.

Dr. Warren has stated in his Notes that he continued the practice of midwifery for some years after it was given up by Dr. Jackson.

As it has always been the wish in this neighborhood to employ the family physician, who is looked upon as an old friend in cases of the nature alluded

to, and great aversion is generally felt to employing a stranger, this branch of business could not be abandoned without retiring somewhat from general practice.

Many years ago, we find a plan in discussion by Drs. Jackson, Warren, and others, for the instruction of females in midwifery. This was abandoned for weighty reasons. Mrs. Alexander was subsequently introduced by them; but the plan of employing females did not, nor has it yet, come into favor.

Dr. Warren had occasionally used the forceps: he did so for the last time, May 10, 1818. Dr. Jackson, by taking a summer residence in Waltham in 1825, of course abandoned night-practice; thus mainly avoiding this branch, and retiring in some degree from active practice.

This partial retirement of Dr. Jackson added considerably to the already very extensive general practice of Dr. Warren among the most wealthy and fashionable, as well as other, classes of society.

In looking over the list of members of the Boston Medical Association, we find that all the older members of the profession, with one or two exceptions, had died off. Of those that remained, all were either enfeebled by age, or pursuing a quiet, lucrative practice. Some younger men were, indeed, toiling their way up to the eminence which they have since reached; one or two others were eminent in their own branches: but, for a time, Dr. Jackson and Dr. Warren stood alone in eminence, as family physicians or general practitioners.

Dr. Warren, having done ample duty in early life in practising among the poorer classes, had felt himself at liberty, as his practice increased, and he became unable to attend to all who applied, to leave promiscuous practice to younger men, who were both competent for the work, and desirous to obtain it. He retained, however, such old patients as wished his attendance, especially those formerly his father's; practised gratuitously where it was necessary; and often supplied their wants, in addition to giving them his time. After his return from Europe in 1838, when he began to retire from excessive practice, he made it more of a duty to practise among the poor.

Within a few years after Dr. Jackson's partial retirement, Dr. Warren declined obstetric practice, and refused to visit in the night, except in particular cases. This, however, made little difference in the extent of his general practice; which was not diminished until his departure for Europe in 1837, and his taking a country residence for the summer, after his return.

One of the most remarkable publications by Dr. Warren, upon surgical subjects, was his letter to Judge Parker, printed in 1826.

It contains a very clear and minute description of the different forms of dislocation of the hip-joint, intended to explain, in terms intelligible to non-medical men, the injuries of this joint, which are often the most complicated and difficult to recognize of any that occur in the human body. With a great deal of

research and close reasoning, he proves the possibility of a species of dislocation whose existence had been denied by Sir Astley Cooper, though recognized by some of the most distinguished Continental surgeons. The occasional occurrence of this form of dislocation has since been proved by a specimen in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and by cases published in the American edition of Sir Astley Cooper's work on dislocations.

About this time, an earnest attempt was made to introduce gymnastic exercises in this country. An institution was established in Boston; and, very soon after, followed by one in Cambridge, under the direction of Dr. Webster and of Dr. Follen, who was afterwards lost in the steamboat "Lexington." The latter was well qualified, by his German education and habits, to give the necessary instruction. While the novelty lasted, the institution flourished in Cambridge; but it wanted the infusion of the patient German character to make it permanently successful. Exercises for the sake of exercise cannot readily flourish here. Our countrymen demand more excitement, — either hearty play or useful labor, a game of football, or wood to saw and split.

Dr. Warren's opinion of the high importance of this institution, and the part he took in it, will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

GYMNASIUM. — TEMPERANCE.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

About the year 1825, the idea of establishing a public gymnasium was agitated in Boston. In my lectures annually delivered at Cambridge, I had explained the great importance of physical exercise in developing the organic structure of the body, as well as its necessity for maintaining it in that degree of vigor which by nature it was destined to possess. The obvious failure of health in a great number of individuals in the University, gave weight to these considerations, and led the Government of the University to make some arrangements for gymnastic exercises in the grounds assigned for the sports of students. The young gentlemen entered into the plan with great ardor; and the apparatus was kept in repair and activity for a number of years, but is now, I believe, entirely removed.

In Boston, some gentlemen of the first character, impressed with the great importance of exercise, united readily and earnestly in the plan for establishing a public gymnasium. Among them were William Sullivan, George Ticknor, Judge Prescott, Josiah Quincy, Daniel Webster, Peter O. Thacher, John A. Lowell, and others. A letter from one of these gentlemen displays very forcibly the necessity of combining physical and mental exercise: —

Letter from Mr. Webster.

Nov. 17, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am highly pleased with the idea of a gymnasium. It is a subject which has often occupied my thoughts, and in relation to which it has appeared to me that the fashion of the times needs to be changed. Those who have the charge of education seem sometimes to forget, that the body is a part of the man. The number of young men who leave our colleges, emulous indeed and learned, but with pale faces and narrow chests, is truly alarming. The common rustic amusements hung about our literary institutions for a long time: but they, at length, seem to have been entirely abandoned; and nothing, at least nothing useful, has succeeded them. If it be desirable that there should be cultivated intellect, it is equally so, as far as this world is concerned, that there should be also a sound body to hold it in.

I shall most gladly assist in your endeavors, thinking that I do some service when I aid any measure calculated to enforce on the rising generation a sense of the invaluable advantages of temperance and exercise.

I am, dear sir, most truly yours,

DANL. WEBSTER.

For Dr. WARREN.

A society for establishing a gymnasium was, accordingly, formed; and, having been appointed president, I addressed a letter to the distinguished philosopher and gymnasiarch, Professor Jahn, through my friend William Amory, Esq., who was at that time residing in Germany. Mr. Jahn was so situated that we could not, without obtaining more means than were at our disposition, lead him to abandon his own country, and establish himself for life in ours. The

idea of obtaining his aid was therefore relinquished; and I afterwards addressed Dr. Lieber, the author of the "American Encyclopædia," a gentleman of education, and in other respects well fitted to take the superintendence of a public gymnasium. The contributions towards this establishment were very liberal. It was therefore opened on a large scale in the Washington Gardens, corner of West and Tremont Street. A great number of gentlemen of the different professions attended, and entered into the exercises with great spirit. They soon experienced its benefits in the increase of muscular strength, the improvement of appetite, and the acquisition of a florid and healthy aspect. The establishment of the gymnasium, as is apt to be the case in this country in regard to novelties, acted contagiously on the city and country. Small gymnasiums were established, in connection with most of the schools, academies, and colleges, male and female; and although, now and then, the accidental fall of a young lady excited alarm among the matrons of the country, there was a universal expression of a sentiment of satisfaction, that our literary men, who had been perishing in groups for want of air and exercise, could, as in Germany and in England, be able to maintain their health, without interfering with their mental occupations. But, unhappily, while the intellectual cultivation of a whole community is considered the glory of the country, the spirit of physical cultivation has gradually become feeble, and, as a general and useful influence extended over the country, it is of no estimation. There are, indeed, some remains of gymnastic arrangements, and the educated part of the community have become perfectly well informed of the importance of developing the physical as well as the moral and intellectual qualities of their sons and daughters.

Twenty-five years have now elapsed since the establishment of a gymnasium in Boston; and we may venture to express the hope, that the importance of gymnastic exercises, as a regular part of school and college education, will manifest itself to those who direct public instruction, and lead them to see that the intellectual part of the community is in a state of deterioration in qualities indispensable to the activity, usefulness, and enjoyment of life.

Let me add here, that, of the gentlemen who originally joined in our gymnastic exercises, four or five continued to follow them for a considerable number of years; and perhaps those who survive may still continue to do so.

In 1827, I joined the Temperance Society. My father, Dr. John Warren, was Vice-President in 1813.

In the same year, I brought forward temperance resolutions in the Massachusetts Medical Society; which, after a violent opposition, particularly from Dr. T——, were carried in a large meeting, with very few dissensions. The Rev. Drs. Channing, Gannett, &c., were the most active men at that time in the temperance cause.

From that period, I have followed up the temperance reformation. Mr. Alden Bradford, Mr. Pierpont, Mr. William Sullivan, then gave in their aid. Soon after, the Orthodox or Calvinist clergy took up the matter; and, by a slow and regular movement, the country was more or less brought under the influence of temperance principles.

In 1837, I went to England, and conferred with the members of the British and Foreign Temperance Society (who were very cordial), and acted as Chairman of a temperance meeting in the heart of the city of London.

In the same year, I had a conference with some members of the administration of King Louis Philippe in France,

and laid before them statements showing the importance and the progressive advance of the temperance reform.

About the year 1840, in consequence of the formation of the Washingtonian Societies, the Massachusetts Temperance Society — the oldest association — suspended its proceedings; resuming their labors occasionally at such opportunities as occurred for making themselves useful.

In 1848, we made a publication of the documents of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, recording the principal facts in its history. At this time (February, 1849), no licenses to retail are allowed by law in Boston and the greater part of the State of Massachusetts. The same is true also of several other States.

In the summer and autumn of 1849, I received letters from various parts of the country, requesting my opinion of the necessity of alcohol in materia medica. After some months' reflection, I wrote a short article for general distribution, showing that, in many cases, alcohol was not necessary; that it might be dispensed with in the preservation of infusions; that, in many cases of tinctures, a substitute might be found in a wine produced by the fermentation of a vegetable infusion with sugar. This preparation I had made, and tested its effect, first, by taking it myself; second, by giving it to others. The preparation turned out to be mild, agreeable, and efficient in its operation. This article was published and distributed by the Massachusetts State Temperance Society. In the course of the past summer (1849), the famous Apostle of Temperance, Father Mathew, visited Boston, partly on the invitation of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, on my application. I met him at the Roxbury boundary, and saluted him in a short speech; to which he replied. On the next day, he drank tea at my house with

Bishop Fitzpatrick, Mr. William Appleton, and others. Father Mathew employed some months in travelling about this State to give the pledge to many thousand individuals, and afterwards visited the Southern cities.

The present year, the temperance societies have been less active than usual; and, among a certain class, intemperance has increased. Still, however, the reform may be said to have made progress; as, in all public places and public entertainments, the disposition to employ alcoholic drinks is diminished. For the last seven or eight years, I have ceased to give wine at the dinners of the Agricultural Society, and at other dinners; also at evening parties of scientific persons and others. In the early part of my establishment, it was thought necessary for every young housekeeper to lay in a stock of wine, which might grow old, and ripen; and, at that time, I used two or three glasses of strong wine daily, and, at some periods, brandy and water, though not strong. When I began to take an interest in the temperance cause, in the year 1827, I gradually gave up the strong wines, and take the weak French wines. On going to Europe in the year 1837, I was led, while in England, to resume them, though not with good effect. Two or three years after returning from Europe, I gave up the use of it entirely, except as an article of the materia medica; and always found myself better without it, except in case of unusual debility, when, used as a medicine, it has sometimes appeared beneficial.

On the whole, I can with confidence say, that, if I had never tasted wine, my life would have been more healthy, and longer, and more comfortable. The efforts which I have been called to make in the temperance reformation, operating, as they have done, more extensively on the prosperity and happiness of the community, are a source of more

satisfaction than any other labors. Probably my other occupations might have been as well or better performed by some one else; but perhaps it would have been difficult to find another person who would have been willing to undergo the opposition, ridicule, labor, and expense in the cause of temperance.

The early efforts of the society do not appear to have been attended with much success. It is to be recollected that the use of alcohol was in those days considered a necessary of life.

It was not supposed possible for mechanics, farmers, or operatives of any kind, to work without their regular supply of spirit. The same feeling prevailed here with regard to rum that exists now in England with regard to beer, or in France and Italy in regard to wine.

About three years since, there was an account published in the English papers, of a trial, under a new law, on a complaint against an individual for opening a beer-house on Sunday night to supply the operatives of a printing establishment. The counsel for the defence stated, of course, the necessity for the supply, and argued eloquently upon the suffering which must have ensued from the men being deprived of their usual drink while working in the night. The singularity was that the opposing counsel admitted the necessity; and the judge not only allowed it, but lamented the great hardship of the particular case. But the law, he said, was absolute,

and did not allow any justification to be set up. The employers ought to have provided a sufficient supply for their workmen.

In Italy, in like manner, wine is regarded among the poor as much of a necessity as is meat with our lower classes. Forty years ago, nay, thirty years ago, the same feelings and opinions were held here with regard to spirit. The customs which prevailed among the middle and higher classes are frequently alluded to and described in the progress of this Memoir. Not only wine, but alcohol in some form, was daily used; and the smoking punch-bowl in winter, or the iced pitcher in summer, was no uncommon addition to the sideboard, which was generally well supplied with every variety of spirit that the taste of each visitor could demand.

Some progress had probably been made by quiet and imperceptible degrees between 1813 and 1827. The silver stood empty upon the sideboard, the square case-bottles had disappeared, and spirits were much less freely used in the higher circles. Among the lower classes there was no change. There were shops for retailing liquor in every street, and these were the constant resort of operatives; while there were many shops of a somewhat higher character, where young men, engaged in trade, or mercantile employments, could get their glass at luncheon-time, — say a glass of brandy and water, — and a biscuit. It is well known that the multitude of taverns, both in Boston and dispersed over the country, owed their

existence and main profits to the sale of ardent spirits.

Dr. Warren commenced his labors with great earnestness, and with an interest which never abated through life. He prepared a series of resolutions, which were heartily adopted, and produced great effect upon the community. These resolutions declared that the use of ardent spirits is unhealthy, and inconsistent with a vigorous action of the bodily and mental powers; also that the habitual use of wine is neither necessary nor salutary. A paper to this effect was soon after signed by most of the physicians in Boston, published, and generally circulated. Its influence was very great. He next headed a petition to the City Government for the prohibition of the sale of liquors upon the Common on public days, which were then days of riot, gambling, and drunkenness. Election Day, in particular, when the Legislature met, the votes for Governor were declared, and he took his oaths of office, the *Mall* was lined with tables, upon which stood tempting glasses of *egg-pop*; and the Common was sprinkled over with tents, where stimulating refreshments were abundantly provided. The day generally closed with the mobbing and burning-up of gambling-tables. Often the amusements of the afternoon — at least, at the period while Boston was a town — were diversified by the arrest of a pick-pocket, who was followed to the justice's office by a crowd of hundreds of men and boys, all anxious in the cause of justice. There can be no doubt that

"Election Day" was supereminently a day of disorder and disgrace. In earlier times, it had been one of solemnity. The sermon at the church was then sufficient attraction and stimulus to the Puritans, in addition to the meeting of the Legislature and the investiture of the Chief Magistrate.

The next step was to place greater restrictions upon the retailing of liquors, especially upon the sale of liquors to be drank upon the premises. By proceeding in a similar manner as above, the number of drinking-houses was diminished, and a greater restraint placed upon the retailing of spirits. In the formation of branch-societies, and in appointing temperance agents, Dr. Warren was also an earnest mover and actor; yet he never advised extreme measures. His efforts were directed, at first, against the most prominent abuses, and against the habitual use of distilled liquors. The compounding of medicines had always received a large share of his attention. He now devoted himself to the substitution of other forms of medicine for the tinctures: these had always been freely used by both sexes. Many ladies thought they required their daily dose of Huxham's tincture of bark; and men, who were ashamed to resort to brandy or rum, habitually took Stoughton's elixir. The constant use of either of these preparations occasioned an imaginary necessity for their continuance; and often, by an easy transition, led to the free use of ardent spirits. His exertions so far succeeded, that the eminent and conscientious

apothecary,* who for many years dispensed his prescriptions, and himself entered earnestly into the temperance cause, has declared, that, whereas the large bottles of tinctures ranged upon an upper shelf used to be taken down and filled daily, they now were filled only once a month.

The effect of these exertions was gradual. In the early part of the temperance reform, the society's exertions were directed against the use of distilled liquors. Farmers, mechanics, and operatives met all remonstrances with the reply, "You preach to us, while your own cellars are filled with wine: if we could afford to buy wine, we would not drink rum." It was necessary, therefore, for the members to give up wine; and they did so.

The effect is great and decided. The habitual use of spirit is abandoned. It is found and acknowledged, that men can work better without stimulants than with them. Odium is attached to the supplying operatives with spirit, and to them for using it. If young men resort to drinking-places for a forenoon dram, it is done secretly, and others are not led into temptation. Whatever may be the amount of spirit now used, there is a great and obvious gain in the removal of temptation to neophytes, in its constant and open use as matter not only of pleasure, but necessity.

A notice of the publication referred to, by Dr. Warren, on the "Effects of Alcohol," will come in

* Mr. Charles White.

here most appropriately. It is a small, neat volume, suitable for wide distribution; containing, in the first place, the records and documents of the Massachusetts Temperance Society, from its foundation in 1813 to the date of publication (January, 1848). It contains an account of the progress of the society, that may be read with great interest.

Added to this is a republication of Dr. Forbes's valuable "Essay on the Physiological Effects of Alcoholic Drinks," — "a most able and scientific investigation of the effect of stimulating liquors on the animal economy."

In 1851, he bestowed great pains in preparing for publication an edition of the excellent Prize Essay of Dr. Carpenter, on the use and abuse of alcoholic liquors; adapted to general use by being accompanied with an explanation of the medical and technical terms.

Dr. Warren's labors in the temperance cause continued unremitted from their commencement to the time of his death. He was always ready to give his assistance in speaking, writing, and by liberal contribution. At one period, from his connection with St. Paul's Church, and having the warm sympathy of the rector, he was enabled to interest a class of the community not generally brought under the influence of temperance teachings. Meetings were held at the church, under the sanction of the rector, Mr. Potter, and afterwards of Dr. Stone, and anniversary discourses given there.

He was a strong advocate of the Maine Law, and one of the earliest contributors to the Million Fund. During the last days of his life, he was occupied in preparing a sketch of the temperance movements during the last half-century. This has since been completed, and embodied in a very neat and useful volume issued by the Massachusetts Temperance Society, in which the records are carried up to the death of their President, Dr. Warren; and in which are, of course, displayed his labors, and the continued interest which he took in the objects of the society. We find the last record as follows: —

JAN. 27, 1857.

"The Council met at No. 2, Park Street, — Hon. Stephen Fairbanks in the chair.

"The Treasurer announced the receipt of two thousand dollars from the administrators of the late Dr. John C. Warren; 'the same to be safely invested, and the income thereof devoted to the dissemination of temperance publications.'"

CHAPTER XV.

MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL. — DR. GORHAM. — LABORS AND ARRANGEMENT OF TIME. — PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

In 1828, the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" was commenced. The "New-England Journal of Medicine and Surgery" had sustained its character from its foundation. But the professors, whose aid had rendered it valuable, had now become fully engaged in private practice, and were unable to contribute freely to a work of this character. The last paper contributed by Dr. Warren was in 1823. It was thought that a work of somewhat lighter character, published oftener, and transmitting medical news more rapidly, — a work somewhat in the style of the "London Lancet," — would be more acceptable.

The demand for a weekly publication had already given rise, in 1823, to the "Medical Intelligencer," conducted by Dr. J. V. C. Smith, and afterwards by Dr. Coffin, who was proprietor and editor from 1825 until 1828. The editors of the "New-England Medical Journal" — consisting, at that time, of Drs. Channing and Ware only — purchased the work of Dr. Coffin for six hundred dollars (Dr. Warren taking

two-thirds), and united the two journals, both of which had large lists of subscribers. Dr. Warren commenced the editorship. He threw himself into this new labor with his usual energy, and exerted himself, heart and soul, to raise the work to the highest point of excellence. He caused the Surgical Records of the Hospital to be kept with more exactness than before, by appointing a person for this special purpose; and his selections from these form a most valuable part of the new journal.

The first volume opens with "Cases of Neuralgia," by John C. Warren; giving an account of a number of cases, in some of which he removed a portion of the nerve with perfect success. One case of remarkable cure is mentioned, in which the applicant, being advised to have the nerve divided, took immediate flight. Some time after, he called upon the doctor to assure him that he was perfectly well, and dated his recovery from the proposal of the operation.

The Hospital Reports in Surgery, which were not entirely written by Dr. Warren, were carefully examined and corrected by him; and he wrote all the accounts of operations. The extracts from foreign journals were selected, and so carefully revised and corrected by him, that the whole labor of preparing them must justly be considered as his.

Among many articles written by him, "Observations upon Ulceration of the Kidneys, with Cases," are of great interest. These cases occurred partly in private practice, partly at the hospital. Case fifth

is given with great particularity, and was one of a good deal of importance.

Among the Hospital Reports may be noticed a case of dislocation of the os humeri, with fracture of the neck of the bone successfully reduced; one (No. 4), upon carotid aneurism, giving particular instructions for the performance of the operation, with an account of a successful though very difficult case; another, of removal of half of the lower jawbone for osteo-sarcoma; double hare-lip, with fissure through the hard and soft palate; a successful operation for cataract, with a very particular account of the manner of performing it, and remarks upon this disease. "By the strict pursuance of the plan laid down," he concludes, "we have been so happy as to avoid the loss of a single eye in this Institution."

Dr. Jackson's valuable paper upon the "Morbid Effects of Dentition" was republished in this journal, page 241. Dr. Channing furnished reports from the medical department of the hospital, and many other papers. Dr. Gorham prepared reports of the weather, and diseases prevalent for the three months previous. The dispensary physicians published their periodical returns, with remarks; and, among these, we find the names of several whose early death cut short their career of promise and usefulness. Drs. Stevenson, McKean, Robbins, and Davis were among these.

The second number of this journal contains a biographical notice of Dr. Danforth, who died Nov. 16.

1827, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. This sketch was prepared by Dr. Warren, at the request of the family of Dr. Danforth.

In the commencement of the second volume, he furnishes a paper upon the influence of decomposing animal matter in producing fevers. "It is admitted by the whole medical world," he says, "that miasmata exist, and that they arise from the decomposition of vegetable substance." Some persons have confounded the effects of decomposing animal matter with those arising from vegetables. "The object of these remarks is to point out the error of this opinion; to show that the decomposition of dead animal matter does not generate that peculiar principle which is the special cause of fevers and kindred diseases; and to show this by facts, many of which are notorious, and within the cognizance of the whole community."

Dr. Warren then goes into a strict examination of the subject; and, first, as connected with those peculiarly exposed to these alleged causes of disease, — butchers, and such as live in the vicinity of slaughter-houses; soap-boilers, tallow-chandlers, tanners, and curriers; seamen in whaling-vessels; grave-diggers and nightmen. Butchers, he shows, are more healthy than other men: and, in Europe, he states that it is common to send persons laboring with pulmonary complaints to inhabit the neighborhood of slaughter-houses; the good effects being supposed to arise from the abundance of azotic gas which is generated by decomposing animal substances. Tanners, curriers,

and leather-dressers are as healthy as other men. Nightmen are not subject to fevers or epidemics. The seamen of whale-ships are more healthy than the seamen of other vessels. Those engaged in the manufacture of glue have never been observed to be less healthy than other men. Dr. Rush and Dr. Clark had stated that grave-diggers were exempted from malignant fevers.

To all this he adds his own great experience in dissecting-rooms. In the succeeding number of the journal, he follows up his evidence by extracts from distinguished authors, which, he says, "may be thought more striking and conclusive than the facts above advanced."

This paper is worthy of attention by those who interest themselves in this matter. It undoubtedly is one of a good deal of importance, and affords grounds for comfort and assurance to those necessarily subjected to the sources of animal putrefaction. The question, probably, is one which cannot be definitively settled; because what is offensive to the senses will, by the majority, be considered detrimental to health. The neighborhood of a slaughter-house, for example, or of a dead horse, will always be considered a nuisance; and, if the burying under churches produces a gas perceptible to the congregation above, they will not very readily be persuaded that it is healthy.

The subject of neuralgia, commenced in the opening of the first volume, is continued through this. Numerous cases of neuralgia in different situations

are given, and the effect of particular remedies exemplified. Among these are cases of neuralgia of the lower extremities, neuralgia of the upper extremities, of the trunk, of the uterus successfully treated, of the solar plexus, of nerves of the abdomen, &c. He concludes his series of papers with remarks upon the different remedies employed. He speaks very highly of the effect of blisters, as the most frequently useful of all remedies in this disease. The affusion of hot water he considers a valuable remedy, when the disease is seated near an extremity. The carbonate, and especially the sulphate, of iron, are recommended under certain circumstances; and, when all remedies fail, the division of the nerve.

He gives the following conclusions: —

"1. Neuralgia is a disease of the nerves. The muscles are disordered in a secondary way only.

2. This affection is not confined to the head. All the principal nerves of the body are liable to be affected with it, but superficial nerves more than others.

3. After being subdued on the first attack, it is apt to return on the application of exciting causes, and to become one of the most intractable of complaints.

4. There is no remedy which can be considered a specific cure for it. There is no one remedy which is often successful. It is to be combated by various agents judiciously adapted to the peculiarities of the case.

5. Of consequence, the carbonate of iron is not

entitled to the praises which have been bestowed upon it; nor is hemlock, stramonium, or belladonna.

6. A surgical operation for excision of the affected nerve is frequently successful in the early part of the disease; and often fails in a protracted case, even when it gives temporary relief.

7. This operation, when successful, is not always followed by immediate disappearance of the paroxysms.

8. The affusion of hot water is a valuable remedy when the disease is seated in an extremity.

9. The physical and intellectual constitution of the patient is to be studied carefully at first, and kept in view during the whole course of the disease.

10. The patient is never to be abandoned to his sufferings. When the more approved remedies have been tried, the most extraordinary practice is justifiable."

The reports of surgical cases and operations in this volume were prepared by Mr. Willard Parker, now Professor Parker, of New-York University, who was then house-surgeon; observations and remarks being added by Dr. Warren. Among these were reports of tumors; fractures, — one of wound in the hand, terminating fatally; one of extirpation of cancer uteri; two for artificial uretha, which were successful; and one of compound comminuted fracture, which required amputation.

The extirpation of cancer of the uterus was the first that was practised here. The neck, with about

half of the body, of the organ was removed. This operation, though not successful, Dr. Warren thinks warrants a belief that it may succeed, if performed in an early stage of the disease. The patient in this case survived three days, and died, not of inflammation or gangrene, or the union of the peritonium, but probably from the effects of bleeding, and her great exhaustion by pain, and the discharges previous to the operation.

The third volume of this journal contains a letter from Rev. Dr. Porter, of Andover, to Dr. Warren, upon the climate of St. Augustine; which appears to be the only article furnished by him for this volume or the several succeeding ones, until the fifteenth in 1836.

The editors conducted this work with great skill and ability for one or two years: but it was soon found that this way of publication did not answer; for all the loss fell upon the proprietors, and all the gain to the publisher, as is probably the usual case. After an expense of two or three hundred dollars, they gave it up to the publisher. It was for a time conducted by Dr. C. Robbins; after which Dr. J. V. C. Smith became editor, and held charge of it for many years, until his election as Mayor of the city rendered it necessary for him to resign the active duties of editorship. They were assumed by Drs. Morland and Minot, who, the succeeding year, became sole editors, and have since conducted it with great ability.

In the account given of this journal, the labors of

Dr. Warren have been principally alluded to as connected with his biography, and as coming within the especial knowledge of the writer. It is by no means intended to disparage the labors of the other early editors, — Drs. Channing and Ware. The following letter from Dr. Ware is important to the history of this publication: —

Letter from Dr. Ware.

In 1824, the editorship of the "New-England Journal" passed into the hands of Dr. Channing and myself. The subscription was small, and the work hardly paid its way. We thought of giving it up in 1827; but the plan was then suggested of uniting its list with the "Medical Intelligencer," then conducted by Dr. John G. Coffin. Dr. John C. Warren united with us in purchasing that journal; and the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" was begun under our joint charge. I forget how long we continued it; but we found it not only a laborious but a losing concern, and we disposed of the whole to Mr. Cotton. I could not at the time assume any pecuniary risk, and Dr. Warren accordingly took two-thirds of it: and, as an offset, I performed the quarter part of his labor in getting up the number; i.e., of the mechanical part, which it fell to his share to edit. As the editors were responsible for the expenses, the publisher was quite slack in getting subscriptions, and collecting moneys due. It was, therefore, some years after we gave it up before our purchase-money was re-imbursed. I believe that the outlay was chiefly repaid: probably something was lost. We gave six hundred dollars to Dr. Coffin for his interest in the work. The course of the work since then is given correctly in the "Journal."

Dr. Warren's chronological records notice the death of Dr. John Gorham, who died March 27, 1829. Dr. Gorham had received the advantage of two years' residence in Europe, after completing his medical studies under the direction of Dr. John Warren; and, upon his return home, had married the daughter of his preceptor. He was soon after associated with his friend Dr. Dexter in the professorship of chemistry and mineralogy; and, in 1816, became sole professor, his colleague having retired. Dr. Gorham and Dr. Warren were, therefore, not only united by family ties, but by their association in the Medical School, where a close union, friendly intercourse, and concert of action, were preserved, such as has rarely been surpassed. Dr. Gorham was in the vigor of life; and his business had accumulated so much, that, two years previous to his death, he had resigned his professorship. Nevertheless, he fell a victim to the great exertions which his increased practice required, especially during the prevalence of the yellow fever in Boston. During his short illness, he was visited constantly by Drs. Jackson and Warren.

In the early difficulties of the Medical School, in the controversy relative to a College of Physicians, &c., he had stood side by side with them. In all the medical enterprises, in the establishment of medical journals, in the formation of a code of medical laws, in the compilation of the "New-England Pharmacopœia," and in all the concerns relating to the lectures, they had, for more than fifteen years, acted in concert.

The loss of Dr. Gorham must have made a breach in the circle of medical professors which could not be easily filled up. Though he had retired from the labors of the lectures as Emeritus Professor, he was still closely connected with them, and united by bonds of interest and sympathy.

In 1828, when the "Boston Medical Journal" was commenced, Dr. Warren was in the zenith of his medical career. He had an extensive private practice, medical as well as surgical; he was the leading operator in New England; his labors in the temperance cause had recently commenced; the affairs of St. Paul's Church had a large share of his attention, and he was interested in various societies; and all these cares in addition to those of his professorship. It was about this time that the difficulty of procuring subjects for dissection was at its height. He has given so full an account of these matters, as will appear hereafter, that nothing more need here be said; but this was a serious addition to his toils. He arranged his lecture the evening before; but generally spent an hour in his private dissecting-room, previous to his lecture, in further preparation. In every one of these labors, he exerted himself as if the one in question, at the time, was the most important concern in life. It could not be said of him, —

"Whate'er he did was done with so much ease!"

On the contrary, he thought nothing worth wasting time upon that was not worth serious attention and

severe labor; and he doubtless experienced much more pleasure in spending a spare hour in some delicate dissection, or preparing an anatomical specimen, than in perusing even a French translation of the Waverley novels, — a labor or indulgence which he did sometimes allow himself.

At this period, he rose in winter, and breakfasted, by candle-light, and went directly out to visit his patients until one; except during the lectures, when he passed usually two hours at the Medical College. From one to two, he received patients at his house. He devoted about twenty minutes to his dinner; after which, he retired to his room for an hour. In the latter part of the afternoon, he visited such patients as required a second visit, and then took a cup of tea in his study at seven; after which, he wrote and worked upon the subjects before mentioned, often, if not generally, until two in the morning. The greater part of this time he devoted to the "Medical Journal," preparing the Hospital Records, selecting extracts from foreign journals, and writing original articles. The late hours which he kept at this period doubtless did serious injury to his eyes.

He was now also in the midst of his labors in the temperance cause.

In August, 1830, Dr. Warren gave, by request, a lecture on physical education, before a convention of teachers and friends of education.

It was listened to with great attention by a large concourse of people; and seems to have been at-

tended with important results, by calling the attention of teachers and others to a subject of the highest importance for the happiness and well-being of society.

When the old routine of school education was abandoned, and fifteen years of peace and increasing prosperity had caused greater exertions to be made, and new forms of instruction to be adopted, the danger was, at first, not perceived of injuring the body while the mind was cultivated and crammed, if the expression may be allowed.

The lecturer commences by calling attention to the importance of health to the regular exercise of the mental faculties, which "is well understood in theory," he says, "and very generally neglected in practice. What is the value of brilliant genius, or a highly cultivated mind, to a weak and laboring frame?" The high importance of health to the minister of religion, the interpreter of the law, the professor of the healing art, is eloquently enforced.

On the more delicate sex, the effects of a debilitated body are not less distressing. "A young female, at the age of twelve or fourteen, presents a beautiful figure, rosy cheeks, an airy step, and the fulness of life and happiness in every movement. As she advances, her vivacity naturally lessens; but, as if it would not be soon enough extinguished, it must be repressed by art. The lively motions of the body must be checked, the spirits must be restrained, and a sort of unnatural hypocrisy made to conceal every ingenuous

movement. The activity of disposition is destroyed. By confinement, she loses the inclination for exercise, and passes from her school to a state of listlessness at home, or to frivolous and useless amusements, or perhaps to fresh tasks. By this regular repression of the physical powers, their energy is at last broken; various organs lose their tone and their healthy action. Even the most solid parts are gradually impaired; and, being unable to support their ordinary burden, they sink under its weight, and bring on unchangeable deformity."

Moral causes are next discussed, — the influence of too great occupation of the mind in study, and of feelings and passions of a depressing nature. The effects of competition and rivalry are often seen in the loss of health from persevering application. "When this becomes an all-absorbing passion, the result is most unfriendly to the physical organization; and a multitude of fine constitutions are ruined by it in both sexes."

The lecturer cannot decide whether any proper substitute for competition in the male sex can be found. So far as his experience goes, he thinks it can.

"The application of rivalry to the softer sex (I speak with submission to greater experience) appears to me to be fraught with mischief. It inflames the imagination, festers the passions, and poisons the happiness of the brightest days of life. It seems as unnecessary as it is pernicious."

If no substitute is at present known, Dr. Warren

thinks that the ingenuity and intelligence of instructors cannot be better employed than in devising one. The reasoning process, he thinks, may be employed with great advantage; and children may be led to understand that the path of duty is the easiest one.

This lecture was delivered over a quarter of a century ago. The mode of education has been greatly improved, and much greater efforts are made than formerly, to interest children in their studies. How far these efforts have succeeded, the question may still be asked, whether the true theory of education is not to teach young people to learn for the sake of knowledge, — for the sake of what will be practically useful to them. Do the fruits of instruction ever become of advantage until the individual is aware of their value?

The old methods of instruction were invaluable, in the habits of discipline and of application which they produced; but the learning itself was of little practical value.

Girting the chest in females is alluded to with strong reprobation.

"In what notions of beauty this practice took its origin, I am unable to discover. The angular projections, formed by a tightly drawn cord, are in direct opposition to the models of Grecian or Roman beauty. In the flowing robes of the Juno, the Vesta, and Diana, every part is light and graceful. Nor have I been able to discover in the representation of the Muses or the Graces any habiliment which would

lead us to believe they wore stays or corsets. The taste of the other sex is uniformly opposed to the wasp-like waist and boarded chest."

This discourse was received with extreme attention, and was attended with greater results than such productions generally effect. If it did not excite, it gave impulse to, the general medical crusade against corsets, — the prominent fashionable enormity, in dress, of the time. Corsets were abandoned; but other abuses of dress took their place, and gradually prepared the way for their revival; though it is to be hoped that tight lacing is not, and will not be, revived. The flowing robes of the Juno, the Vesta, and the Diana, are, unfortunately, not suited to our climate; but they still may be held up as examples of a grand principle, — a desideratum which should always be aimed at in reforms of dress, but which has never been generally enforced.

This principle is the freedom from all ligatures, which are now abundant in a female dress. It is remarkable, that, while these have been entirely abandoned in the male dress, they are still perseveringly employed in the female.

Since 1830, much attention has been given, especially in the normal schools, to physical education. Whether the knowledge that is derived from the superficial study of anatomy and physiology serves any more than to mislead, or whether, in these sciences, "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing," must be shown by experience.

This lecture was made the basis of a little volume on the "Preservation of Health," in 1846, and published anew, with additions, in 1854; which last edition was stereotyped.

CHAPTER XVI.

BOARD OF CONSULTING PHYSICIANS. — CHOLERA. — CASE OF SUSPENDED ANIMATION. — DEATH OF HIS MOTHER. — MEDICAL CASES. — RECREATIONS.

Dr. Warren was appointed Consulting Physician of the city of Boston in June, 1824, together with Drs. Aaron Dexter, James Jackson, Horace Bean, and John Gorham, by virtue of an "ordinance establishing and regulating the quarantine of vessels."

Dr. Warren, as elsewhere stated, had the records preserved and copied at his own expense.

The first reports relate to the small-pox. It had been the custom to remove every patient affected with small-pox to Rainsford's Island, six miles from the city, to the evident risk of their lives. In 1828, cases occurred in Boston; and the consulting physicians were called upon to consider the expediency of removing them. They recommended the establishment of a small-pox hospital, and also that greater precautions should be taken in visiting small-pox patients.

The hospital, or place of reception, for this class of patients, does not appear to have been ever provided. A general revaccination, however, ensued; and there was much controversy in the medical journals with

regard to the perfect and lasting efficacy of the cow-pox. It seems to have become settled, that though cow-pox is as perfect a protection as small-pox itself, yet it is expedient to test the perfectness of the first affection by revaccination.

About 1830, remote rumors were heard of a terrific pestilence which had commenced in Asia as early as 1817; had spread on all sides, sweeping all before it; and was now spreading into Europe, and pervading Russia. Extending further west every year, it reached Germany in 1831; and soon great alarm prevailed in America.

In October, 1831, the Board were consulted by the Quarantine Committee, "whether, in the existing state of the cholera-morbus in the north of Europe, vessels arriving from that quarter can receive all the benefits which may result from the disinfecting process, without removing their cargoes." The Report, signed by John C. Warren and the others, was against the necessity of unloading.

June, 1832, the Board was again called together to consider "whether any measures are proper to be adopted in this city on account of the appearance of the Asiatic cholera on this side of the Atlantic."

They reported, that from the measures which had already been taken, and for other reasons, the cholera would probably be limited in extent, if it should appear. They advised the removal of all collections of filth; and that, for this purpose, committees should be appointed in every ward to discover, and cause to

be removed, all decomposing vegetable and animal matter. Also that an organization should be formed for the benefit of the sick poor, and proper places selected for hospitals; that the Board prepare and publish immediately, under the sanction of the city authorities, all such advice and directions as may be proper to prevent the occurrence of the disease in individuals; and also all the proper measures to be employed, in case of attack, before medical advice can be obtained. They conclude by advising every man to fearlessly perform his duty, in full trust and confidence in the Preserver of health, and the Author of disease, that nothing evil can befall him while he is so doing.

A Report was afterwards prepared, written, it is believed, by Dr. Warren, the Chairman of the Board, giving full directions to the public for the prevention of cholera, and especially for the management and relief of persons attacked, before medical advice could be obtained. This Report was published in all the papers of the day, and may be found at length in the sixth volume of the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," page 317. Subsequent experience in the treatment of cholera has afforded no results to invalidate the usefulness of the advice here given. The general directions are as valuable for the conduct and prevention of other epidemic diseases as of cholera.

In his own practice, Dr. Warren, when early called to a case of threatened cholera, gave a full emetic of

ipecac, which was afterwards followed by opiates. Hot applications and rubefacients were, of course, not neglected. His course was generally completely successful. Physicians in practice in Boston at that time will fully recollect that they had abundant business. There prevailed a very strong tendency to bowel complaints; and alarms proceeding from slight attacks were very prevalent. Many of these yielded to abstinence, sometimes aided by opiates; but others required more vigorous treatment. There was every reason to suppose that attacks of great suddenness and violence would have proceeded rapidly to the stage of collapse, if they had not been checked in the manner mentioned.

The ravages of the cholera in Boston that season were very slight, and the value of the course which had been pursued was put fully to the proof. Boston never before went through such a thorough cleansing; and the inhabitants prepared with as good a will to resist the cholera, as they did in 1814 to resist foreign invasion. The effects have been permanent; and the city is indebted to the cholera for much of its present cleanliness and health, as well as the freedom from epidemics, which formerly were not so rare as at present.

The Medical Society was equally active. At a meeting of the Councillors, in February, 1832, a committee was appointed to investigate the history of cholera, and especially the best mode of treating it; and to consider whether it was or was not contagious.

For this purpose, a sum was appropriated to enable them to purchase books, &c.; and they were authorized to publish the results at the expense of the society. James Jackson, John C. Warren, and George Hayward, were the first named upon this committee. The Report was prepared with much care, and was of great value at the time. It is of equal value now, as a compendious treatise on the subject, both in a historical and practical point of view. Dr. Warren took a strong interest in its preparation, and neglected nothing on his part which could add to its value.

The further labors of this Board will be spoken of in the order of time, as circumstances called them forth.

We may introduce here the following letter, communicated to Dr. Warren from Hon. H. A. S. Dearborn, containing a very interesting case of apparent death. It is directed to Henry G. R. Dearborn.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6, 1832.

MY DEAR H., — As connected with your profession, I will give you an account of a most remarkable instance of the suspension of all muscular motion and apparent death, which was related to me some few days since, in the House of Representatives, by the Hon. O. Doddridge, of Western Virginia. He is a distinguished and influential member of the House, about sixty years of age. Some years since, he was returning home from a visit in Ohio, and rode, during a cold day, against a violent wind and snow-storm, nearly fifty miles, on horseback; and, when he reached his house,

was nearly benumbed from his exposed and uncomfortable journey. He desired his wife to have a fire made in his bedroom, and such other methods taken as were best calculated to prevent deleterious consequences. The next morning, his lungs were much inflamed; and he sent for his brother, who was a physician, and in whom he reposed the utmost confidence. After feeling his pulse, he said that blood must be taken away; presuming, as he afterward stated, that there was an inflammation of the stomach and viscera. He was bled until he fell: and, to restore him, he was put into bed, and laudanum was administered to the amount of a hundred and fifty drops; and, when he revived, he was not only deranged, but so excited that he immediately got up, and began to make speeches on all kinds of subjects, political and religious. Being replaced on the bed, it was surrounded by men to prevent him from getting off. Thus hedged in, he walked backward and forward on the bed, and was constantly declaiming. This continued for twenty-nine hours; and some young lawyers, who were called in to assist in guarding him, propounded various questions for him to discuss. At last, he fell apparently dead. The doctor said he had expired; and he was laid out. His eyes being open, one of the young gentlemen present was requested to close them. He replied, that he could not; and the doctor did it, placing two half-dollars over them to keep the lids down. His lower jaw having fallen, a white handkerchief was tied about his head to support it. All this time he had his senses perfectly, and heard all that was said, his reason having been restored the moment he fell; but he was unable to make the least motion, except in his left great toe, which, when they were straightening his legs, he moved, to indicate he was not dead. But, as often as it was done, the effort was made to stretch out his limbs;

and, as the pain was most excruciating, he ceased to move his toe. The closing of his lids occasioned the greatest agony. His wife did not believe he was dead, and insisted upon some warm brandy being put in his mouth, and friction applied; but the doctor told her it was useless, as he was dead, and she must endeavor to bear it with fortitude. She still insisted; when the doctor urged her to leave the room; but she refused to go. Mr. Doddridge heard all this; and knowing his wife was a resolute woman, and his brother a firm and decided man, he considered the only chance of not being buried alive was the fortitude and determined character of his wife. The doctor, finding arguments and persuasion did not prevail, commanded her to retire from the room, and she reluctantly obeyed; but, in about ten minutes, she rushed back, and commanded all the men to leave the room, and said that she and the women who were present would attempt to resuscitate her husband. She was indulged. A teaspoonful of brandy was put into his mouth, after removing the bandage from his jaw. He heard her say it had passed down; and, on repeating it, the women said they could discover a slight effort to swallow. They then began to use friction, and rubbed him from head to foot. Mr. Doddridge observed, that, at this time, he had lost all affection for his wife and family, and his whole mind was engrossed with the fear of being buried alive; but while his favorite daughter, thirteen years old, was rubbing his feet, he heard her say, "Mamma, dear father's feet are becoming warm and moist!" Then all a fond father's feelings rushed into his soul, and all a husband's love. In a few moments, he jumped upon his feet; but was as delirious again as before, and began to stride about the room, declaiming in a violent manner, which he continued for an hour, and then fell apparently dead, when

his reason instantly returned; but he was as incapable of motion and speech as before. The doctor then told his wife (which he heard) that he was now irrecoverably gone, and ordered her to leave the room; which she peremptorily refused to do, and commanded him and all the men to leave her and her maid with him. In some hours, the doctor called, and endeavored to induce her to believe he was actually dead. She replied, "He is in a sweet sleep, and will recover." After being in a slumber for eighteen hours, at the expiration of which it was nearly evening, a friend called to inquire about him; and he heard, as in a doze half asleep and awake, the conversation (during most of the period of the doze, he heard all that was said); and, a few minutes after his friend went away, he awoke, and instantly asked if such a person had not been in the room, related the conversation, and desired her to send one of his sons after him, and desire him to come back, as he wished to see him. When the friend returned, he was astounded, — for he went away with the full belief Mr. Doddridge was dead, — and asked him, "Do you know me?" To which Mr. Doddridge replied, "Certainly." "How do you feel?" Mr. Doddridge replied, "As well as I ever did in my life." After his friend went away, he told his wife he was very hungry, and wished for something to eat. She said she would make him some chicken broth. He replied, "No: I want a hearty meal of fried bacon." It was prepared. He ate a hearty supper; had a good night's rest; and the next day he set out on horseback for Richmond, as well as he ever was.

He stated that his feelings during the period when his brother pronounced him dead, laid him out, and ordered his wife from the room, were horrible; and, for months afterwards, he could not bear to hear the event named: and this

from his having taken up the "Black Dwarf" while on his way to Richmond, which contained an account of a like case in Scotland, I think, where the man was actually buried, heard the earth rattle on his coffin as they filled up the grave, and the mourners move away; but fortunately the resurrection-men came in the evening to take up his body for dissection. He heard the first stroke of the pick-axe and spade in the work of disinterment, the opening of the coffin, and all that was said as they carried him into the room of dissection. His own physician was to lecture on him, and, with a knife, made an incision in the breast. This roused him; and, to the astonishment of the audience, he rose up and spoke. The reason of his wife's pertinacity was, the recollection of the facts stated in an article he had some months previous read to her, from an encyclopædia, on premature or hasty burials. To these two circumstances he owed his restoration, or he would have experienced the horrible act of being buried alive.

The reason of this interesting case being related was this: We were sitting with another Virginia member, and the latter was speaking of an able speaker who was in the Virginia Legislature with Mr. Doddridge some years since, whom all feared from his powerful manner of putting down all who opposed him. Mr. Doddridge said he had twice triumphed over the terror of the member; but, notwithstanding, this remarkable man had made an eloquent funeral oration over him. At the time Mr. Doddridge was laid out, a member, going down to Richmond, called at his house (which is on the bank of the Ohio), and there was informed that he was dead, and laid out. This he announced to the House, when the eulogy was pronounced; but a few days after, to the utter astonishment of all, Mr. Doddridge entered, and took his seat.

This being such a well-authenticated case, I consider it important that you should never forget it in practice, in the event of sudden deaths. I wish you would name it to Dr. Warren, or show him this letter, and make my best respects to him.

(Signed) H. A. S. DEARBORN.

From the beginning of the year 1832, Dr. Warren's attendance had been required almost daily by his mother, who was now seventy-two years of age, and suffering from severe and repeated attacks, in which the digestive powers were gradually failing; the elasticity of her constitution producing amendment and partial recovery after each attack, each in succession leaving her almost imperceptibly worse. It needs scarce be said, that Dr. Warren held what he has before alluded to as rather old-fashioned notions of respect for seniors in general, and for parents in particular. Mrs. Warren was one whose dignity and reserve of manners, as well as her quick perception of character, knowledge of the world, and acquired information from books and persons, commanded respect. This was always paid by her son. All that he could do for her relief, he did. How much he felt her loss, could only be suspected.

In this year (1832), Dr. Warren published in the "American Journal of Medical Sciences" two important cases, in which the accidental admission of air into the veins had taken place.

Dr. Warren alludes to the circumstance, that this accident has been doubted by surgeons.

He had recently met with two undoubted cases, which he thinks were the first that had occurred either in his own practice or that of his predecessor.

The first instance was in an operation for a cancerous affection of the face and neck, in which it was necessary first to secure the carotid trunk. "The face of the sheath of the great vessels was a little uncovered, when a small effusion of venous blood appeared under the knife, and checked the operation. At that instant, a very distinct sound was heard, like the passage of air through water; a few bubbles were seen in the venous blood, the flow of which was immediately arrested by applying the finger." The symptoms were those of apoplexy. Dr. Warren directly opened the temporal artery. He recovered, and, the following morning, was as well as before the operation was attempted.

Seven days after this, the operation was performed without tying the carotid. On the 10th December, the wound was nearly healed, and he returned home.

The second case occurred in the removal of a tumor of the breast in a married woman. After nearly separating the tumor, at the outer part of the axilla a vein was divided, and a small quantity of venous blood was discharged. On carrying the knife to the other extremity of the tumor, she struggled, became livid, and a bubbling or clucking noise was heard. Directly, the axilla was compressed, and she became insensible, with apoplectic breathing.

The tumor was at once separated, her posture changed. Brandy was poured down, and ammonia introduced into the nostrils. Cloths with hot water were thrown over the extremities; strong frictions applied to the chest and all parts of the body. As a last effort, the larynx was opened, and inflation of the lungs by a bellows put in operation. These efforts were continued for a considerable length of time, but with no effect. Life was extinct.

Dr. Warren remarks on the means to be pursued in the occurrence of these accidents: "First, compress the orifice of the bleeding vein with the utmost care; second, apply pressure on the veins between the wound and the heart; third, relax the part in which the vein is seated; fourth, the patient may be directed to expire the air from his lungs."

The opening of the temporal artery gave great relief in the first case. It was not resorted to in the second, because the patient had already lost as much blood as could be spared. The other means to be pursued have been described above.

It may be remarked, that this last case afforded an instance of what has been stated above in regard to Dr. Warren's quickness in perceiving any change. Although intently engaged in a delicate dissection, he perceived the first change of color in his patients; and the means mentioned were resorted to almost before the assistants were aware that any thing untoward had occurred. This was always the case. He never allowed himself to be so much engrossed in

any dissection, however difficult or intricate, as not to be constantly alive to the condition of his patient.

Although the subject of this Memoir had long ago given up night-practice, and consequently midwifery, he was still totally occupied in active practice and operations, and seems to have had little time for writing. His only publications for 1833 appear to have been the following, in the thirteenth volume of the "Journal of Medical Sciences," in which he has given an account of the "Removal of the Clavicle in a State of Osteo-Sarcoma."

The patient had received an injury, a year previous, in attempting to roll over a heavy stick of timber. It was supposed to be an irreducible dislocation. When he entered the hospital, Nov. 1, 1832, he had a tumor measuring seven inches from the sternal end of the right clavicle to the scapular end; from its upper bound, the clavicle, towards the nipple, five inches. It was hard; no fluctuation; general health not materially impaired, but constitution scrofulous and irritable.

The tumor being found to enlarge after his entrance into the hospital, the operation was performed on the 10th. The outer extremity of the clavicle was laid bare, the coraco-clavicular ligament divided, and the clavicle sawed through with a chain-saw. The tumor was then carefully dissected from its attachments, and removed. Little blood was lost.

The patient's appearance after the operation was good, and his symptoms were most favorable up to

the thirteenth day. He was able to sit up, had appetite, and had every promise of a favorable termination of the case. The wound united to a considerable extent by the first intention.

On the thirteenth day, he was affected with chills, pain in the epigastric region, and his pulse rose from eighty to a hundred and twelve. These symptoms were followed by a nervous, agitated state, and eventually by a slight delirium, with no other local phenomena than those above mentioned.

His symptoms varied from this time to the 8th of December; when he died, in the fourth week from the operation.

Dr. Warren notices, in conclusion, the bad habit of body of the patient, who was naturally weak and excitable; and, secondly, the absence of any local affection, sufficient to be a cause of death.

"Whence," he says, "it may be inferred, that the unfavorable issue was the result of constitutional irritation, produced by the impression of a severe operation."

In this volume of the "Journal of the Medical Sciences" is also contained an account of an operation for the remedy of a natural obstruction or malformation, which was completely successful.

At this period, and for some years previous, it had become the fashion, even for wealthy families, to pass the whole year in the city. Horse-keeping had become expensive from the increased value of land, and the facility of locomotion was trifling. The only

public conveyances were coaches; and the Roxbury "hourlies," as they were called, though they ran only two or three times a day, were a new thing. Jamaica Plain — which had formerly been a fashionable residence in the time of Dr. Gordon, the American historian, and pastor of that parish — was now almost deserted. There were many vacant houses; and land sold only by forced sales, and for much less than it had cost thirty years before. Dr. John Warren, as has been said elsewhere, had purchased a farm in Jamaica Plain, before his son went to Europe, and rode out frequently in his chaise or carriage during the summer afternoons. Not many years before his death, he made one visit to Newport with his family. They went, not in cars, steamboats, or even stages. The journey was made in the large family coach emblazoned with the family arms, and driven by the family servant, Cuff, whose native place was Newport. Cuff has already been mentioned. His brother and predecessor, Quaco, a better servant, was bequeathed, by the will of Governor Collins, to his daughter, Mrs. Warren. While leading a pair of fine coach-horses to bathe in the old Mill Pond (which was in that part of the town where the National Theatre now stands, but long since filled up and built over), he fell from the horse he was riding, received a kick upon the head, and was drowned. The horses were also lost.

This was probably the only pleasure excursion which the senior Dr. Warren made for years.

Notwithstanding the healthiness of the city, it natu-

rally followed, that, as all the inhabitants remained in Boston, there was much sickness during the summer months; and physicians who practised then, seldom thought of leaving Boston for a night, unless compelled by professional duty.

The first journey which Dr. John C. Warren mentions took place in 1820, as has been already mentioned. In 1827, he made a visit to West Point, Catskill, &c.; the subsequent years, in turn to Niagara, Newport, and the White Mountains in the spring or summer of 1833.

In 1835, his son Dr. Mason Warren, having returned from Europe, and become a member of the Boston Medical Association, was able to relieve him from part of the burthen of practice, and commenced his own successful career as surgeon and physician. In July of this year, he was therefore enabled to make a longer visit than usual to the South; leaving his son to take charge of his patients in his absence, somewhat in the same manner as he had taken charge of his father's business during the first summer after his return.

In 1836, his only publication appears to have been an account of an aneurism of the external iliac artery, in the fifteenth volume of the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," and in the "American Journal of Medical Sciences," nineteenth volume.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONSULTING PHYSICIANS. — SMALL-POX. — DR. JACKSON. — WORK ON TUMORS.

The subject of sanitary provisions, to prevent the extension of the small-pox, was frequently submitted to the attention of the Consulting Physicians.

Early in 1837, a communication from the City Council was received, and called forth the following Report: —

The Consulting Physicians of the City of Boston have been called upon by a Committee of the City Council to say, whether, in their opinion, it is necessary to provide a place for the residence of those who are affected with the small-pox and other contagious diseases in the winter season. Having carefully considered the subject, they ask leave to offer their opinion, as follows: —

"That it is highly necessary to provide a place in or near the city, to which those affected with small-pox and other contagious diseases in the winter may be conveniently and safely removed."

The reasons which have led them to this opinion are the following: —

I. They believe that cases of contagious disease may occur, in which it would be dangerous to life to remove the patient in a boat or vessel, as now practised.

II. That obstructions in the harbor may prevent the removal of infected patients so early after the appearance of disease as to avoid their communicating it to others.

III. That an insular situation may sometimes prevent the administration of those aids which severe diseases might require.

IV. That an apprehension of being removed in the manner done at present may operate as a temptation to physicians and patients to conceal the existence of a contagious disorder.

On the other part, there appears to be no serious objection to establishing a place for persons affected with contagious disorders, in or near the city.

All such diseases emanate their contagious influences to a very limited extent, — generally not beyond the air immediately surrounding the affected person.

As a proof of this, may be advanced the fact of a small-pox hospital having existed a considerable number of years within two miles of Boston, without having communicated, or having been suspected to communicate, the contagion to the city.

As to the place proper for such an establishment, this Board is of opinion, that any place in or near the city, which can be as much insulated as the State Prison at Charlestown, or the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, would be perfectly safe, if precautions were taken to disinfect those who had occasion to communicate with the establishment.

By order of the Board of Consulting Physicians,

JOHN C. WARREN.

BOSTON, Feb. 1, 1837.

On the 4th of February, the City Council again requested the opinion of the Consulting Physicians

with regard to an entire change of policy in relation to small-pox.

"The preceding advice for the re-establishment of a small-pox hospital," they say, "seems to have been founded upon the continuance of the present system of regulations. They now ask an opinion as to the propriety and policy of the system itself, whether the removal of those infected is deemed necessary; and they request the Board to state their views in full in regard to the prevention of the spreading of the disease, the cure of those infected, and the more thorough extension of vaccination."

"The Consulting Physicians, in reply, state their sense of the great importance of the question to the city of Boston, and that they have given the affair their earnest attention.

They state, in the first place, "that the policy which had so long prevailed in Boston, of removing and secluding affected persons, however it originated, did not prevail out of New England; that many people were generally exposed to the contagion before the infection could be discovered and the affected person removed.

"It appears to them, that, if no measures were taken to keep the small-pox out of the city, all the inhabitants and all the visitants to the city, not vaccinated, would be careful to undergo vaccination before exposing themselves. Vaccination would thus become more general, and the food which now exists for supporting the disease would soon be exhausted through the whole community. The terrors of a general spreading of small-pox would thus be allayed, and the disease would be regarded with no more alarm than measles and other contagious and eruptive diseases.

"We conclude, then, from this view of the subject, that,

if the old practice of removal were abandoned, small-pox, instead of being more likely to be extensively diffused, would be less so, from want of materials to feed on."

They then direct their attention to the evils arising from the present system, — "the extreme hardship of removing persons from their families to secluded situations, parents from their children, husbands from their wives, and invalids from those upon whom they have been accustomed to rely; the terrors of such a removal; the exposure to severe weather during some seasons of the year, which may, in some cases, decide the balance between recovery and death. Such a violation of the rights of humanity could only be justified by the necessities of the public good; but no necessity exists, if the opinions expressed above are well founded."

They notice other objections. First, That individuals who have been vaccinated have no opportunity of testing their susceptibility to small-pox. They go abroad, and, if exposed, may suffer severely from a disease, which, in their own homes, is of little importance.

Secondly, The alarm excited once or twice every year, under the present system. A case of small-pox throws a part of the city into confusion; and the existence of a number of cases disturbs the whole city and country.

Thirdly, The great and useless expense in which the system then prevailing involved the whole city.

Further, that the small-pox is not, in ordinary seasons, so contagious a disease as it is commonly believed to be.

That the practice of removing from the city persons affected with small-pox should be discontinued after the first day of March next.

In the mean time, they recommend a general vaccination of all who have not been vaccinated, and that measures

should be taken for the free vaccination of all such as wish. Also that all citizens, who have not full confidence in having had genuine cow-pox, should be revaccinated.

Signed by JOHN C. WARREN.
BENJAMIN SHURTLEFF.
GEORGE HAYWARD.
JOHN RANDALL.
GEORGE C. SHATTUCK.

These recommendations were adopted; and the lapse of twenty years has proved the wisdom and humanity of the measure. A prominent feature, which is well known to promote the extension of contagious disease, — fear, — has been removed; and a case of small-pox now produces little alarm in the city. Thus a person infected is less likely to have his case made worse by neglect and terror; and proper caution may be adopted for the cure of the patient, and for rational measures for preventing the extension of the disease. Formerly, if not now, in some country towns, an individual infected with small-pox was sometimes deserted, and left to perish, from neglect, in an empty tenement; while those who were forcibly removed, between the agitation and other circumstances combined, lost their chance of recovery.

Many persons, who would have shuddered at the story of persons affected with hydrophobia being smothered between two beds, — as was practised in some remote parts of Great Britain, and perhaps is still, — approved of the forcible removal of small-pox

patients. Use or custom sanctions every abuse; and we look with calmness upon those which are supposed necessary, merely because they have long existed.

It requires much hardihood and moral courage to attack such abuses; but they who do it are deserving of the highest praise. The abolition of an oppressive law, founded in ignorance or superstition, never ceases to operate for the comfort and happiness of thousands. The panic produced by contagious diseases — the plague, the cholera, and here, in an especial degree, the small-pox — gives rise to general feelings of inhumanity and selfishness; and, as the disease may become aggravated by neglect, its extent is promoted by the very means taken to avoid it.

On the 14th of May, 1837, Dr. Warren communicated to the trustees of the hospital his intention of making a visit to Europe. About the same time, Dr. Jackson retired from his office of Hospital Physician. From the foundation of the institution up to this time, he had been constant in his attendance during his annual term of office, even after his partial retirement from business in 1825, when he went to Waltham, and for several years made that his summer residence. During this period, his hospital duties were regularly discharged; and he continued the practice of his profession, as far as his residence in the country permitted. After a few years, he gave up his summer residence in Waltham, and resumed active practice in the city, which he has since continued.

C. E. Wagstaff & J. Andrews

James Jackson.

Although the friendship that commenced at an early period of life, and the close professional intercourse that ensued, did not terminate until the death of Dr. Warren, who was attended by Dr. Jackson in his last illness, as he had been in all preceding ones, that portion of the Biographical Notes which relates to the latter may come in appropriately here, at the end of their long connection as physician and surgeon in the Massachusetts Hospital.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Dr. Jackson I became acquainted with at college from the year 1793–6, inclusive. He was a year in advance of me; but we fell into the same circle of acquaintance, and were more associated together than members of the different classes usually are at college.

After I was settled in London, in the year 1799, he came there to prosecute his studies for the winter, and associated with Senter and myself; so that we worked together that winter. In the following summer, having made a matrimonial engagement, and having at the same time the expectation of being the first to carry the vaccine fluid to America, he left us; came home, got his degree, and, by the aid of a large circle of friends, launched immediately into practice. His abilities, industry, and agreeable manners, helped to establish him wherever the impulse of his friends could carry him; and for a number of years, until he declined practice, he had as much as he could do, and became the head and leader of the profession in that department. This station he continued to maintain after he had partially retired from professional business; and was well entitled to it, not only by the extent of his experience, and the constant

cultivation of medicine as a science, but by his remarkably good judgment, and steady pursuit of general professional improvement. He originated many and was engaged in all the schemes of amelioration and advancement in the medical art, and in many other departments of science; and distinguished himself always by an enlargement of his views in regard to the new arrangements which the state of the profession were continually requiring. He was particularly active in the foundation of the Medical School in Boston, of the Hospital, the Society for the Study of Natural Philosophy, the Athenæum, the "New-England Journal of Medicine and Science," the new organization of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and many other similar institutions. Although he voluntarily transferred his medical business at the middle period of life, he is still resorted to as a consulting physician; and has continued to hold the public esteem, as well as that of his patients, without diminution. His frankness of character, as well as clearness of judgment, acquired the confidence of his professional brethren to an almost unexampled extent. With a bad state of health at one period, which called him partially to relinquish medical practice and engage in agricultural pursuits, he has prolonged his life and intellectual powers beyond the usual period; and this prolongation is attributable not only to a well-directed system of living, but to the means he has employed for preserving mental equanimity in the various trying events he has been called to experience.

Before his departure for Europe, Dr. Warren published his work on tumors, — one of the largest surgical books which he ever found time to compile.

There can be no doubt that it was his original intention to prepare a more elaborate treatise on this, and probably upon other subjects. The care with which he had preserved the records of his hospital practice (forming six large folio volumes), in addition to the records of private practice, seems to indicate such a design. They afforded an immense mass of facts and observations, and ample materials for treatises upon all subjects of operative surgery.

But he found, as he states in his preface, "practical men, called as they are to every kind of medical duty, possessing no time they can devote to study but what is robbed from hours which the wearied faculties require for repose, can estimate the obstacles to any literary labor among us. Compelled to accomplish this publication under an unusual pressure of affairs, or to defer it to an uncertain period, I thought it right to relinquish the attempt at an elaborate and finished production, to clothe the facts in the best dress that circumstances permitted me to give them, and to content myself with the expectation that the errors which may have escaped me now will be readily discovered hereafter, both by myself and others."

An impartial account of this work is given in the "British and Foreign Medical Review," the high standing of whose editor — Dr. Forbes — is well known to the profession in this country as well as in his own. The reviewer says, —

"Nothing is more apt to produce a favorable impression of any literary production than to find that the author has justly appreciated his own labors, and has offered them to the public under an appropriate title, and without immoderate pretensions. A prepossession is thus created in favor of his good sense, and the reader is prepared to listen with attention to one who is able to decide fairly in a matter in which the natural bias of self-approbation is frequently too strong for sober judgment. In the work before us, these first favorable impressions do not lead to disappointment. 'It is not,' we are told, 'to be considered as a treatise comprehending all that is known on the subject, but rather as a collection of cases intended to illustrate the distinctions between different tumors.' "

The reviewer goes on to speak of the two different methods of reporting medical cases. One, formed on the model of the French school, carried to the highest degree of perfection by Professor Louis, consisting of the most minute particulars, whether connected or unconnected with the principal disorder; the other, which seems particularly to flourish in English soil, characterized by a selection of the more prominent features which distinguish the disease, and which appear to afford some direct clew to the means of palliation or of cure.

"To this class belong the cases contained in the present volume. Clear, simple, and graphic, they bear the unaffected impress of truth; and report with manifest candor and honesty, as medical writings ought, the opinions that influenced the treatment, and the motives that guided the surgeon in performing or abstaining from operations. In fact, throughout his work, the author proves himself to be a worthy disciple of the school in which he received his early instructions; and which, connected as it is with the names

and celebrity of Cooper, Bright, and others of hardly less eminence, he seems proud to acknowledge as his alma mater. And surely that school need be no less proud to claim him as a pupil. And we believe there are few members of our profession who are more entitled to the consideration of his brethren than Dr. Warren. Distinguished as a zealous and successful teacher for the last thirty years, foremost in every undertaking calculated to improve medical literature and science, and never weary in the cause of benevolence, he has long earned for himself in his native country a reputation of the most enviable kind, and to which mere literary distinction, more especially in foreign countries, can add but little of value."

CHAPTER XVIII.

EUROPE IN 1837.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

My visit to Europe in 1837–8 was undertaken for the gratification of my family. My son, Dr. Mason Warren, was able to take my place. One of my daughters was also happily settled; two others were just grown up; and my son Sullivan had gone through four years' attendance in a counting-room. Mrs. Warren had passed thirty years of servitude in bringing up a family of six children. Her father and mother were no longer living, nor were mine. My property had attained a sufficient growth to justify me in a measure of the kind. My business was rather oppressive, and required to be diminished. Further, the work on tumors, which I had had in hand for two or three years, was so nearly completed, that I could hope to finish it before my departure; and I accordingly did finish it, though not in a way I could have wished. Its principal merit was its being the only monograph on tumors; and to this might be added the simplicity and practicalness of its arrangement, beginning with the tumors which present themselves on the outside of the body, and tracing them to the internal textures. Mr. Bureaud Riofrey told me in 1849, that he saw the book when published in 1837, being in England at that time, and was agreeably struck with the plan of basing its arrangement on the textures of Bichat.

I had the satisfaction to find it was favorably noticed by the principal medical journals in Great Britain and America; though I attributed this to their partiality, rather than to the merits of the book. I have since made a very large collection of cases of tumors, which would constitute, perhaps, one or two volumes. They are corrected, and, to a certain extent, arranged. I have always intended, with the aid of these notes, to make another edition, with woodcuts, or something of that style. But other labors have thus far interfered with the execution of this plan.

My decision in favor of going to Europe was not made without much hesitation. I had not at that time made up my mind that it would be expedient to give up lectures. If I had done so, I should have remained longer in Europe, felt more at my ease, and have accomplished more work calculated for permanent utility. But I thought, on the contrary, at that time, that my duty was, as I had already for more than thirty years acted on the plan of introducing foreign improvements into this country, to pursue the same system, and use this contemplated voyage principally in procuring information which would be useful at home, and particularly in the business of instruction. For this purpose, I, in every city and town where I remained even but a few hours, visited, sometimes with great labor, the hospitals and other public institutions; and always succeeded in gathering something that could be made available in the prosecution of my plan.

We sailed from New York in the beginning of June (12th), 1837, in the ship "George Washington," for Liverpool. The passengers were in number about thirty. Among them were Mr. Wallack, the actor; Mr. Tyrone Power, comic actor, since lost in the "President;" Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, now President of the French Republic;

Lieutenant Gage, son of Lord, and grandson of General Gage, who fought at the battle of Bunker Hill; and Mr. Becket, of Philadelphia. With Napoleon I conversed in French, although he spoke English very well. This was after his first attempt to excite a revolution in France, from which he had come to America, and was thence returning to his mother, who was quite ill at Geneva. He conversed very pleasantly on any subject proposed. He was well versed in classical literature, and fond of it; quite a proficient in mathematics; and showed me a thick octavo volume he had composed on the science of artillery and engineering. He was versed in the small accomplishments which make a part of French education, — comic acting, tricks at cards, &c., — some of which were very remarkable. All these things he did with imperturbable gravity; never laughing as if he enjoyed them, but did them for the amusement of others. He never talked politics. We always used the title of Prince, and gave him a place next the captain. He made himself very agreeable to the ladies, and gave them small presents occasionally. He landed at Liverpool with us, made his way to Geneva, and reached his mother two or three days before she expired.

Our ship arrived at Liverpool about the middle of July, after a thirty days' passage. I saw there Mr. Gair, banker, connected with the Barings, a native of Boston; my old acquaintance, Dr. Vose, pupil of Sir Astley Cooper; and Dr. Reynolds, a chemist and physician, who invited me to the meeting of the British Association, in Liverpool, the September following.

From Liverpool we went to London; remained there a few weeks, as noted in my journal, kept from that time till I arrived home again, and after a few days resumed, and continued with slight intermissions to the present time.

Journal of a Voyage to Europe.

June 5, 1837. — Left Boston on Artillery-Election Day, with some trouble of mind on account of M.'s solitary and responsible situation.

On reaching New York, I called on my old friend Dr. Perkins, with whom I passed some pleasant hours. Dr. Stevens took me to see a number of his patients, and interested me much by his conversation and scientific views.

June 12. — After being detained in New York a week by unfavorable winds, on this day, in the afternoon, we were summoned on board ship, and went down in a steamboat.

During the voyage, nothing happened of much interest. I avoided reading and writing as much as possible. We had a voyage of thirty-one days, and landed at Liverpool about sunrise on the 13th of July. Our entrance to the town was cold and uncomfortable at this hour; but when we were safely lodged at the Adelphi Hotel, and got a good breakfast, we were much revived. One of our passengers, a young lady, at the moment of landing, fell, and broke the fibula, which I adjusted for her.

The first view of the streets of Liverpool, through the dense coal-smoke, was not agreeable; but when the sun shone out, and the streets began to fill with people whose faces seemed as familiar to me as those of Boston, I was better pleased. Leaving Sullivan to take care of my custom-house entries, — where we were fleeced, — the first business was to find out the agent of the Barings, Mr. Gair, who received me kindly, said he had formerly known me, and took charge of my gold, — about one thousand sovereigns; for the bad state of credit at home and abroad compelled me to take specie at seventeen per cent advance.

This being accomplished, I rode to Mr. Rathbone's, two or three miles out. The green hedges, the verdure of the fields, and the pretty taste of Mr. Rathbone's house, struck me agreeably. After dinner, I paid a visit to Dr. Reynolds for the purpose of seeing Miss Dix. Dr. Reynolds asked me to stay to tea. At nine, P.M., we had strong coffee, with plenty of rich cream, and a very agreeable conversation. I was quite gratified with the quiet ease of Dr. and Mrs. Reynolds. Dr. Reynolds lives in Bedford Street.

July 14. — I went by appointment to see a surgeon called Mr. Bickerstaff. I was punctual, but was kept waiting some time while he was seeing patients; and, when he came, he did not offer to visit the person I had referred to him with me.

Saw Dr. Reynolds, who politely carried me to the Anatomical Collection and Museum, which is incipient. I visited a hospital in the lower part of the town; and, in the afternoon, the Infirmary. There was nothing very interesting in the practice of either. I visited also the Zoölogical Garden, which, though small, is very beautiful, and contains many valuable animals.

Dr. Reynolds gave me an invitation to the meeting of the British Association, and to pass the week at his house.

July 15. — Met at the Adelphi my old friend Mr. Titus Welles, who embarked on that day for America. At twelve, in company with one of our fellow-passengers, we took the railroad to Birmingham, about one hundred miles, and arrived there in four hours by an admirable conveyance. The country passed through on the route was very interesting. An old castle or two, beautiful hedges, and fine cultivation, struck us very delightfully. As we approached Wolverhampton and Birmingham, the smoking furnaces and lofty chimneys announced to us the vast labors which

were going on. At Birmingham, leaving the railroad, we took an omnibus to town. I had a short survey of the market-place, one or two churches, and some antiquities, while dinner was arranging. We had difficulty in procuring a carriage which would take five persons post to Warwick; but, at about six, left Birmingham, and had a delightful ride to Warwick, the ancient gate and wall of which we entered about ten on Saturday night, and had a nice supper at a most comfortable, old-fashioned English inn.

July 16. — Rose early of a beautiful summer morning, and rode about four miles through the purlieus of ancient Warwick to Kenilworth. The romantic views of the old castle far exceeded in their appearance any notions I had formed; which is not saying little. The ancient gate and tower, the court, the ruinous chapel and halls, the beautiful view, the desertion of the place, — the rooks being the only inhabitants, — the recollections of its ancient splendor, quite struck us mute; and we passed an hour or two in wandering about, musing on the gay scenes, the vices, the gallantry, which the old walls had witnessed. As we returned, we saw the spot where Piers Gaveston was beheaded; and, having breakfasted, we inquired if we could see Warwick Castle. This was said to be difficult on that day; but for money it could be done. In the mean time, I took a survey of the ancient gates, walls, and churches. This city has, next to Chester, the greatest appearance of antiquity of any city in England. We afterwards visited the castle with great satisfaction, and then went on to Stratford upon Avon. Shakspeare's house we visited, of course, and the chamber where he was born, scratched over with the names of visitors.

Towards evening, we reached Blenheim, and arrived at Oxford about dark.

July 17. — On the following day, we pressed on to London, taking a stage-coach, and reached the great city about three. As we came within the ten miles, and witnessed the bustling of carriages, the continuous line of houses, and saw the black smoke rising at a distance, — although I had been formerly a resident, I was in some measure oppressed by the idea of entering this world with my family. As we rode by Kensington, we perceived people running, and the Horse Guards parading; and learned that the Queen was returning from the prorogation of Parliament, which we had hoped to witness. We drove through Piccadilly (which was afterwards our residence) without much noticing things, as we were now anxious to arrange about lodgings, &c. Our coach stopped at the Spread Eagle, in Regent Circus, — a place made since I was in London, and, of course, confusing my ideas of the locality. Finding our trunks had arrived safely, we took a hackney-coach, and drove to Dr. Boott's to inquire for the lodgings we had engaged. He referred us to the Brunswick Hotel, in Hanover Square; where we were civilly received, and got our dinner soon after.

Mr. N. Appleton and family arrived; and we agreed to give them our rooms on the following day, and obtained private apartments, which I preferred, at 176, Regent Street. Parliament being dissolved, lodgings were at a low rate. In the evening, Dr. Boott had the kindness to take me to the American minister's, Mr. Stevenson, and to Mr. Bates's. It was near midnight before we reached our hotel.

July 18. — Passed the day in establishing ourselves in our new apartments. They are very pleasantly situated, and give us a fine view of what is going on; but we pay for this by being kept awake by the continual roar of carriages through the streets.

The show in Regent Street is always fine; the shops opposite magnificent, and brilliantly lighted. We rise at seven, breakfast at nine, and dine at five. Our landlord's servants bring what we wish, and we pay daily. Passed this day in moving, and arranging letters; this being the most important and responsible business to be done. Dr. Boott had the kindness to accompany and introduce me to many of the medical gentlemen.

July 19. * — Called on Dr. Boott and Mr. Aikin, Secretary of the Geological Society, who asked me to dine. Then I called on Dr. Clark, and found Mrs. Clark very polite and agreeable. Called on Sir Astley Cooper; and, after waiting some time among his patients, saw him, and presented my book to him. He received me very kindly, and said many pleasant things. To-day I visited also Mr. Stanley, who received me heartily; Mr. Clift, and many other gentlemen: among them, I ought not to omit Dr. Bostock, the author of the "Physiology." Dr. Bostock also introduced me to the Royal Zöological Society, Leicester Square, where John Hunter resided, and where there is a collection of objects of natural history.

July 20. — Made my first visit to Westminster Abbey, of which I had so often thought and dreamed since I was there thirty-five years ago. My impressions at the first moment were less vivid than I had expected, but gradually rose as I contemplated this mighty monument. No person could

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* My dear Sir, — My old friend Dr. Warren carries in his excellent head all the knowledge of the Old and New World.

I shall be delighted to see him.

Yours always,

Astley Cooper.

Dr. Boott, Gower Street.

inform me, neither could the books, whether any part of the original abbey remained, and whether the buildings we now see are more than two or three hundred years old. Visited the Royal Academy, where there is a large collection of modern paintings. Also made my first visit to the Royal Society. This is open to the public now every other day. The objects it contains seem infinite. At this first visit, I principally noticed the Guadaloupe skeleton, embedded in rock. The head is in a museum in Charleston, S.C. This rock is a stone, I think, about six feet high, and two feet wide. The bones stand out in a slight relief. The petrifaction is now considered as comparatively modern, and owing to the induration of the sea-sands. Mr. Aikin took me to visit the Geological Museum, in the Royal Society, at Somerset House, where apartments are provided by Parliament for different scientific institutions. This collection contains a regular series of mineralogical specimens, some noble skeletons and casts of skeletons of Ichthyosauri and other fossil Saurians. They are mostly found at Lynne Regis. Mr. Aikin told me that the Cave of Kirkdale, discovered by Professor Buckland, was now dug away and destroyed by excavations in its neighborhood. The objects found there are many of them in the museum at York.

Dined with Mr. Aikin, an excellent gentleman. Met his sister, the authoress, who was very pleasant. We had a good deal of conversation on the probable politics of the new Parliament. The Aikins are all strong reformers. Miss Aikin told me the legend of St. Swithen. He was a Saxon saint, living at Winchester, and was buried in the churchyard. The people determined to give him interment in another church; but it rained every day for forty days, so they allowed him to remain. Now, if it rains on St. Swithen's Day, they say it will rain forty days in succession.

In speaking of the tithes, they informed me that they were equal to one-tenth of the annual income of the individual.

July 21. — Went to the Royal College of Surgeons, — a collection originally made by John Hunter, purchased by Parliament, and now greatly enlarged and beautified. I carried over a number of articles of natural history for them, for which they gave me their valuable catalogue. Mr. Clift informed me that preparations were arranged in six classes, four of which were completed: the rest they were at work upon. He went into the account of Sir E. Home destroying the manuscripts of John Hunter. This is contained in the "Parliamentary Annals," which I purchased.

In the college, I met Mr. Kienann, and became acquainted with him by speaking on the possibility of injecting a coagulum of blood.

July 22. — Breakfast with Dr. Holland, at eight o'clock, in Upper Brooke Street. He has a good practice among the upper classes; is in the prime of life, and agreeably situated. His family were in the country. He said the practice among the higher classes was not so difficult as might be thought. They were polite, did not detain him unnecessarily, and paid handsomely. Physicians were obliged to administer more medicine than they could wish, from the habit of supporting the apothecaries. Dr. Clark I did not see till I had been some days in London, he was so much engaged; but, when I did see him, I was highly gratified with his very kind, plain, and faithful manner. He spoke favorably of my book. Mrs. Clark is a highly agreeable and excellent person. Dined with Mr. Stanley to-day, and had a great deal of pleasant conversation. Among other subjects, temperance was introduced. They approved of the means for the suppression of intemperance, but thought they

had been unskilfully managed in England. Dr. Arnold remarked, that, if you wished to have a fair view of London, you must rise early, and you will find its atmosphere as clear as that of other cities. He stated that cholera principally appeared in the dirty parts of London; that, generally, the system of drainage was so perfect as to carry away all putrefying fluids, but that there were exceptions.

July 29. — Dine at Mr. Bates's, ten miles out, at Wimbledon. Mr. Bates thinks that the Americans produce less, in proportion to the population, than any other people. This is partly from the number of children, partly from their speculative turn of mind. Many years will be required to pay the English debt; and, until this matter is accomplished, the pecuniary concerns of the country will be in confusion. England never suffers from drought. The slightest variation in the production may involve the death of thousands. Corn-laws are still varying, according to the internal price of corn; falling when it rises, and rising when it falls.

July 30. — Dine at Hampstead with Miss Aikin. Good, simple dinner; very little wine. Three brothers and two nephews. Conversation on temperance. They object to one man's making a sacrifice to check the vices of others by example; see no harm in taking a little brandy. Discussion of Miss Martineau's statements in regard to American ladies. Attended morning service at the Temple Church. Saw the statues of eight knight-templars, placed horizontally. Architecture fine. Conversed with the Aikins upon the state of parties in England. They spoke of the tendency of the House of Lords to strengthen the fetters of the people; the power of the Court to confirm itself. The Lord-Lieutenancy is in the gift of the Queen. This and the control of the work-yards and other employees give the

government power over the lords. The late king was fluctuating in his opinions: at first he was patriotic, afterwards he became alarmed.

Walk through Hampstead. By-paths are numerous in England, and cannot be closed: they are very ancient. There are some encroachments upon Hampstead Heath. The lord of the manor wishes to fence in the Common; but the people object. The lord of the manor has a right to what is not owned by individuals, and he has a fee upon every alienation of property.

In English elections, bribery is general. There are many modes of evading the laws against it; as, for instance, purchasing a flower at ten times its value.

Birds. — The thrush is the most various in its notes, which are very fine: it sings on the wing. Nightingales sing in the spring only.

Aug. 2. — Met Mr. J. S. Buckingham, M.P. He gave me his views of the temperance cause. Spoke of the successful result of the comprehensive pledge.

Visited the British Museum. I noticed particularly the Egyptian antiquities; the Rosetta Stone; heads of Memnon, of great size, Grecian and Roman; statue of Theseus. I went next to Long Acre. Saw a large number of carriages, but great want of variety.

Attended a meeting of the Temperance Society, at Aldine Chambers. The number of the committee, twelve to fourteen. Heard an account of the differences between them and the total party. Bad feeling; publications against each other. There was a discussion on the propriety of giving sermons. Some present did not approve of it, on account of the difference of sects. Mention was made of a newspaper, and of "leading articles" in such paper. Various gentlemen promised their aid.

Aug. 3. — Visited Lady Byron's manual-labor school. There are eighty-six boys. Half the time is spent in study, half in labor. They come from the neighborhood. They employ seven acres of land; possess and sell the produce. The cost of the land is sixty pounds per annum. There are three such schools in England. A spirit of opposition is excited on account of its being a "reform." Lady Byron is a phrenologist.

CHAPTER XIX.

EUROPE IN 1837.

JOURNAL.

Aug. 6, Sunday. — Visited Westminster Abbey. The service was chanted, except the lessons, a few prayers, and the sermon. The effect of the chants in the high and long aisles was sublime. The music was by boys, with some men. Communion. Sermon on the imitation of Christ's example.

In the afternoon, went to St. Paul's. Seats were readily obtained in the high stalls. The service was chanted in the music of Handel; rather long. The church was cold; and the noise of people walking in the great rotunda interferes with the service. The sermon was on the miracle of Peter healing the man lame from birth. The effect of the music, and especially the organ, was grand in the vast aisles.

In the evening, went to Archbishop T——n's chapel, in Regent Street. The service is much like ours. Two metrical psalms. The music simple and interesting. Sermon on the difference of worldly and godly sorrow.

The churches of London are well filled on Sunday. The streets, some crowded with poor people amusing themselves, and others empty and quiet. The cathedrals and churches are very imposing on this day.

Aug. 8. — Went to Twickenham, twelve miles from London, — Pope's residence and burial-place.

Visited Hampton Court, the residence of Henry VIII., built by Wolsey. The cartoons of Raphael are there still. There are a multitude of pictures and rooms. The gardens and water-pieces are splendid.

Aug. 9. — Visited St. Bartholomew's with Mr. Lawrence. Remarks on the modes of living of medical men in London. The dinner hour is uncertain. There are no visits or professional engagements in the evenings, but numerous societies. The laborious part of the profession is carried on by general practitioners. The others visit every few days in consultation.

Visited the College of Surgeons. Curator's meeting. There are two libraries; one relating to the Museum. Saw the picture of Henry VIII. granting a charter to surgeons, independent of barbers. The barbers continued to hold the hall.

More patients are treated at home than abroad by London practitioners.

Dined at Dr. Clark's. The conversation was on the habits of medical men and their education in this country. Physicians are generally of respectable origin. The expense of education prevents there being too many. The standing of the profession in this country is not as high as law. Mr. Key complained of their being unable to attain the highest honors. Lawyers have precedence. Medicine is a domestic profession. Dr. Bright's work was discontinued on account of the expense. Dr. Clark gave me a letter for Scotland.

My dear Sir, — I enclose a note of introduction to Sir Charles Bell; which you may retain, if you think it will be useful to you: but I apprehend you will have no difficulty in making your way wherever you desire. Of course, you know the medical people in Edinburgh whom it is desirable

that you should see and know, — Dr. John Thomson, and his sons also, Dr. William and Dr. Allan Thomson, Dr. Alison, Dr. Abercrombie. There is also a physician, less generally known perhaps, but not less deserving, than many who have a higher name. I allude to Dr. Andrew Combe, author of several popular works, more especially the "Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health," &c., and the "Physiology of Digestion." Dr. Combe is a very amiable and most intelligent man; and I think you should, by all means, see him. He is the brother of Mr. Combe the phrenologist. I will enclose a note to him. He and Sir Charles Bell, and Sir George Bellinghall, whom you met here, I think, will put you in the way of seeing all that deserves being seen in Edinburgh. You will also find the young Thomsons very intelligent; and the old doctor will introduce you to Professor Jeffrey, Professor of Anatomy in Glasgow; and you may have any notes from Edinburgh you please. Dr. William Hunter's museum, at Glasgow, you will of course see. If at any loss in Dublin, use my name to Dr. Maule and Dr. Graves. At Manchester, see its hospital; and see Dr. Bardsley also, by my desire. You will meet Dr. Paget, I doubt not, and Dr. Arnold, at Liverpool; and they will do the needful for you there. But your own name will be a passport for you everywhere. I hope you saw Dr. Haviland at Cambridge. I am now sorry that I did not ask you to explain more fully to me your route, as I might have given you some hints. But I doubt not you will make out very well; and we can go over the ground again when I have the pleasure of seeing you on your return.

I beg my best regards to the ladies and your son; and am, doctor, very truly yours,

JAS. CLARK.

LONDON, Aug. 18, 1837.

Aug. 13. — Ride to Mr. Lawrence's country-seat; the weather beautiful, sun clear and bright, and the air refreshing. No dust, and thermometer at seventy-five degrees.

Aug. 16. — Leave London at half-past nine, A.M. The country was beautiful, and ride altogether delightful. A strong impression made by the beauty of the grounds, and the interest of the buildings in Cambridge.

Aug. 24. — Torsonce to Edinburgh, twenty-five miles. The road is very pleasant, and country fertile. There are many handsome seats. At ten miles from Edinburgh is the first appearance of Arthur's Seat. The entrance to the town is much improved. The new town is greatly enlarged. The effect on a stranger of the wide streets and elegant public buildings is striking, — Prince Street and the Castle, St. Andrew's Square, and gardens north of Queen Street. We took lodgings at Simpson's, in Queen Street. Visited Sir George Ballinghall, and dined with him. Discussed the character of Dr. Gregory. He was learned and talented. His influence was commanding. He died at about sixty-five. He wrote the "Conspectus," but nothing after. Mentioned his military propensity. Spoke of Drs. Duncan, both remarkable for industry. The father lived to more than eighty. On the 1st of May, he went to the top of Arthur's Seat, and had a dinner-party. On the last anniversary, was prevented: he was taken sick, and died soon after. The son was naturally unhealthy, subject to fever, &c.: he died comparatively young; say, at fifty-five. They wrote medical commentaries, annals of medicine; finally edited the "Edinburgh Medical Review," which was profitable. This is now carried on by Dr. Craigie. Dr. Hamilton has lately published, and is continuing, his publication on midwifery. It excites some controversy. A gentleman in Dublin disputes the priority of his claims to

some remarks considered original by Dr. Hamilton. Dr. Hamilton objects to the use of ergot and of bleeding.

Dr. Barclay, the writer on anatomy, is highly esteemed. Sir George B. sent him the skeleton of an elephant from India. Afterwards a caricature was got up, representing Dr. Barclay riding into the college-gate on the skeleton of an elephant. Dr. Hope, with a rope fastened to a piece of strontium which he discovered, was trying to prevent his entrance. Gregory was slapping the elephant's back, and encouraging him to proceed. Barclay, hearing of the caricature, went to see ——, who was at work on it, with Sir G. B., Barclay intending to remain unknown. The workman readily introduced and showed him to another room, where a gentleman was sitting who knew Dr. Barclay: he immediately called him by name, to the great surprise of the artist. Dr. Barclay, however, told him to proceed with his work, and he would sit for his likeness if desired. This put them all in good humor.

Dr. Barclay used to say, in speaking of *relative position* in the body, that the points of compass would not apply to a man: the north-west corner of a man's neck would be rather indefinite. Remark on making a book. A practitioner in full practice, being asked why he did not make a book, replied, he did not wish the world to know what a fool he was.

Sept. 4. — Steamer on the Forth. Splendid views, seats, castles, country-seats, Stirling Castle. Evening, ascended to Stirling Castle, Douglas Tower, &c.; and Bannockburn.

Sept. 6. — Beautiful ride to Callander. Ride to Trosachs, Loch Katrine.

Sept. 7. — From Trosachs to Callander; from Callander to Glasgow; beautiful and sublime prospects. Late arrival at Glasgow.

Sept. 8. — University of Glasgow; cathedral; John Knox's Monument. Fever Hospital, one hundred patients; average duration, three weeks; head affected, treatment mild, no bleeding; contagious; thirty nurses affected last year. Eye Infirmary.

Embarkation in "Unicorn." Sailed down the Clyde.

Sept. 8. — Voyage in Irish Channel. Arrived at Liverpool. City appears clean, and nice coaches. Adelphi; Miss Eaton's, 7, Perry Street.

Sept. 21. — Leave Liverpool. Cross the Mersey to Woodside in a steamboat. We had a pleasant ride, with fine sunshine, to Chester. Ancient gates, walls, and St. Mary's Church. We walked round the walls, and remarked the postern gate and tower, the piazzas, with shops two stories: queer way, this construction. The pavement is bad. There are some manufactures. The castle was founded by William I. There is a fine view from the Parade Ground. The cathedral is very fine and ancient. The Abbey of St. Werburgh is connected with it. The cloisters of the abbey are very perfect, and form three sides of a quadrangle. There are also many other remains of interest. When the cathedral was attacked, the nuns retreated to St. Mary's Church by a subterraneous passage, which still exists, though dilapidated.

Sept. 22. — Chester. Old bridge, with five arches, each of different form. St. John's Church, founded by Ethelred: its records are twelve hundred years old. The tower is very large, and somewhat ruined; partly disconnected from church, which is crumbling in the outer surface. Behind it is an extensive and beautiful ruin, with splendid Gothic windows in a ruinous state. The architecture is Saxo-Gothic, — rounded pillars and Roman arches; two ranges of Gothic galleries in the walls; the whole most

picturesque. The Roman bath consists of a room eight feet by twelve, with a reservoir five feet deep. Connected with it is a sudatorium, two feet ten inches high, with ten or twelve short columns ; room six or eight feet square. A passage leads from it subterraneously to the cathedral.

There are various ancient houses, with carved work and inscriptions. The piazzas are quite curious. The walls entirely surround the town, and have a foot-walk, which is agreeable, and much resorted to. On the wall stands a tower, stated as the place from which Charles I. saw his army in Rowton Moor defeated. The town is most ancient and interesting.

Two miles from Chester, we entered the grounds of Eaton Hall, belonging to the Marquis of Westminster, and rode through them, — seven miles. The palace is a fine modern Gothic. Wrexham Church has a fine tower. Rode four or five miles through the grounds of Sir W. W. Wynne. Crossed by the ancient Welsh fortification, — Wattsney, or Wynnestney. Near this is a valley full of iron-works ; coal and iron both being found. Here is the famous viaduct, the highest in the world, being three hundred feet high. It carries a canal over the Dee, and presents a wonderful monument of art. Also a fine view of the rapid Dee.

A ride of thirty miles from Chester brought us to the celebrated Llangollen, in a romantic valley on the Dee. Visited the Abbey of Valle Crucis by a walk of a mile and a half. It is beautifully placed near the Dee, with a splendid artificial waterfall and fountain pouring into it from the mountain. The abbey is ancient, and quite ruinous. Near it is the famous pillar erected by Concenn to his ancestor Elliseg, killed in 607 whilst fighting against the Saxons. The monument is a stone column, with an ancient Welsh inscription. It is peculiar and imposing. In view of our

hotel was Dinas Bran, — an ancient Welsh castle, formerly very strong. It was given by Edward I. to John, Earl Warren.

Sept. 23. — Attempted to ascend Dinas Bran; but, after going up alone two-thirds of the way, the severity and coldness of the wind compelled me to return. A noble prospect of Llangollen could be seen in the distance.

Left L. at half-past nine, A.M. Romantic scenery along the vale to Corwen Church at Corwen, with a perpendicular column in the yard, called the Sword of Owen Glendower. His cross is on it. We saw a private door by which he entered, and passed a grove in which stood his palace. There is a splendid road, called the "Parliamentary," extending from London to Holyhead; smooth as a floor, walled, and generally a footway. Welsh postilions are not so rapid as English. We pay one shilling and six pence per mile, and threepence per mile to postilions, beside numerous tolls. Beautiful cascades and waterfalls were seen all along the road. Noticed the poverty of the Welsh. Many beggars along the road. The cottages were mostly poor, and the people ill dressed. The country was beautiful, and presented a mountainous appearance, with Snowdon in the distance; although our road was scarcely hilly. There is an ancient church at Llanverdgst, containing the coffin of Prince Llewellyn; also stone effigies of an ancient knight. The churchyard was in a romantic situation, and planted with yew-trees. Reach Conway at half-past five, and visit the castle, which is one of the finest ruins we have seen, it having eight towers and three courts. The town is walled, with towers and gates. There are fine views all around.

Sept. 24. — Morning walk among the towers and walls of Conway. All was stillness and repose; no noise but

the singing of birds, and the cawing of the rooks upon the high towers of the castle. This place is said to have given rise to the romance of the "Castle Spectre." Here is also an ancient church and churchyard, and an old palace, now opposite the hotel, with rude figures, &c. Leave Conway, and ride under Penmaen Mawr. The road is excavated from the cliffs along the edge of a perpendicular, frightful precipice. There is a romantic road along the seacoast to Penrhyn Castle, and a grand hotel. At Bangor, a cathedral and a magnificent iron suspension bridge. Passed through Anglesea and Mona. There is great uniformity in the scenery of the latter place. Reach Holyhead and Bay Mountain. Embarked at eleven, P.M., and passed a horrid night in the steamboat. Only eight passengers, and no sheets. Reach Dublin at five, A.M., and Morrison's at half-past six.

Sept. 25. — Sally out to find Dr. Breen. He looks well, and retains his early appearance. Saw Dr. Carmichael, Mr. Colles, Dr. Marsh, Dr. Graves, and Dr. Snead. Visit the Zoölogical Garden. Noticed ladies riding in Irish jaunting-cars, sitting with their backs to the driver. A pyramid in honor of Wellington is erected in their fine Park. The streets are handsome, and the barracks quarter large bodies of troops. The Roman-Catholic churches are not prominent. There are plenty of ragged and dirty children and beggars.

Sept. 27. — Surgeon Brophy. Candid and hospitable reception. *Seventy patients in one day sometimes.* Mode of making artificial set of teeth, — first, cast; second, block of metal like cast; third, plate of gold rolled out with frequent rollings; fourth, beaten on metal mould to its shape. Interested in America. . . .

Dr. Graves examines the patients carefully; announces

his opinion as to diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment, in a loud voice, so that all hear; discusses various points with students; controverts, and is controverted. He conducts the "Dublin Medical Journal," has taken a principal part in the Dublin-Hospital Reports, and his lectures are published in the "London Medical Gazette." He has considerable private business. I was introduced to a surgeon in the same hospital (Meath), and visited some patients with him, but could get no information, in consequence of the low tone in which he spoke; and, being much fatigued with these long visits before breakfast, I went home, and breakfasted at half-past ten. At twelve, I met Mr. Dillon at Surgeons' Hall. This is a fine edifice, built by government for the Royal College of Surgeons, in St. Stephen's Green. The curator is Dr. Houston. Mr. Dillon showed me the college. There are two porters, a large library and reading-room, a very large hall for the meetings of the college, a collection of anatomy belonging to the College of Morbid Anatomy, and one or two smaller collections for the use of the lecturers. There are a number of small lecture-rooms, and a very large dissecting-room, which has sometimes two hundred dissectors. Subjects are plentiful. The preparations are arranged in galleries. One room is too dark; in another, the shelves are too high. They are ornamented with heads of distinguished men and benefactors. The preparations are well put up, and very interesting.

Visit Cathedral of Christ Church, and Monument of Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, first Governor of Ireland. Hear evening cathedral service. Dine at Dr. Breen's at half-past six. Conversed upon his practice, religion, views of his friends with regard to the United States, &c.

Visited Trinity College, and Hall of Examination. Saw

the organ taken by Queen Elizabeth from the Spanish Armada; also Trinity Chapel, kitchen, library, and museum. Dr. Macartney's collection has been sold to Cambridge. Some preparations remain, — Clark's ossified skeleton; Irish giant, eight to nine feet. There is a fine dissecting-room. Dr. Graves remarks, that a region in the west of Ireland — Joice, in Galway — produces the largest race of men. Those around are small. A mixture of Saxon and Celtic blood produces the best breed here. A mixture of Norman and Saxon constitutes the excellence of the English breed.

Trinity College is a university; has fifteen hundred students, in four classes. Medical candidates take the degree of M.B.; and, after – years, that of M.D. Of course, many go to Edinburgh. There is a regular series of lectures on medicine, which those must attend who wish to graduate. A larger part go to the College of Surgeons; which is the best school, but cannot confer degrees.

Sept. 29. — I visited the Dublin Society. Saw some curious drawings of the arts, manufactures, amusements, and arms of the ancient Egyptians; showing a great similarity to those of the present day. Birds, beasts, &c., bearing a similarity to those of the present day, but of different colors.

The Dublin Society's institution is on the plan of the British Museum, but, of course, smaller. There is a good fossil Irish elk, a good collection of minerals, some casts, and some fine relics from Pompeii and Herculaneum. It is open to everybody on Tuesday and Friday, and resorted to by every class in numbers. Saw an Irish mummy, found in the bog. Heard Dr. Schoolbeg's account of the mode of flattening the skull by the North-American Indians.

Dr. —— stated that Dupuytren falsified his hospital re-

ports, so as to give an idea of more success than he actually met with; and that this explained the difference in the results of his and Roux's operations. The former, Dupuytren, sometimes discharged patients from the hospital in a dying state, and reported them cured. Dupuytren always treated English surgeons with great rudeness. Dr. —— mentioned this in connection with another fact, that the French reports are incorrect, yet attract more attention than those from Dublin. Dr. Jacob, he said, had published many things of merit, which had attracted but little attention.

Passed the evening at Mr. Surgeon Brophy's. Met with Sir James Murray and Dr. Lummis. Dr. Lummis has quitted medicine, and devotes his time to natural and experimental philosophy. He lectures to teachers and scholars. They say that medical men here are not acquainted with this science. Some of them do not understand the principle of the cupping-glass. The schools are endowments; but the private or voluntary schools are acquiring a superiority over the others.

Sir James gave an account of his application for the air-pump and other purposes, to prevent the necessity of grinding surfaces to the greatest possible smoothness. It consists of about three parts of molasses, with one of glue, boiled together. This produces a composition, which, being poured at an elevated temperature in a groove, will receive a glass, without soiling it, in such a manner as to exclude air. Dr. Lummis thought it a great improvement, and proposed to apply it to an air-pump composed of a single barrel. Dr. Lummis gave an account of the first steam-engine, four hundred years before Christ, — a perpendicular tube connected with four horizontal tubes, each having a hollow sphere, with an aperture at the extremity. Steam, passed

through this, caused powerful revolutions. Mr. Avery, of the United States, is applying this to modern apparatus.

Oct. 1, Sunday. — I was invited to breakfast with Dr. Marsh, in the country; but declined, from apprehension of its interference with church.

I have now been nearly a week in Dublin, and received great kindness, though families are mostly in the country. The Dublin medical men are certainly more frank than any, though I cannot say I have experienced more hospitality here than in Edinburgh. The institutions of a hospital kind are more numerous than at Edinburgh. In the latter, I saw only the Infirmary as a school of practice. In Dublin there are the Richmond, Meath, Stevens's, Dunn's Lying-in. In three of these I found large numbers of pupils, who were particularly civil. At the Richmond there is a good collection of anatomy; the only one of any consequence I have seen, except that at the College of Surgeons. The hospitals here are not elegant, spacious, nor showy; but are, substantially, good practical schools. The town is handsome, full of bustle, clean, and has the advantage of the quays on the river, which add much to its beauty. The streets are filled with poor, ragged people, many of whom beg; but the principal part do not. As far as I can judge, articles of clothing and food are cheaper here than in England, — fruit especially. I have not found such a disposition to wine-drinking as I expected. The poor drink whiskey, and suffer dreadfully from it.

Oct. 2, Sunday. — Visited the Catholic Metropolitan Church with Dr. Breen's family. The service was, on the whole, impressive; though I could not understand it all. The sermon was delivered *memoriter*, with uncommon gesticulation and considerable eloquence. It was upon Faith, which he considered a necessary abandonment of reason to

the decrees of the Most High. The church was handsome and full. There are no special seats: you sit and kneel on boards.

In the afternoon, St. Patrick's Cathedral. Very ancient, containing some monuments of many hundred years old. The effigy of St. Patrick is there. The service was cathedral; music, fine. A sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Marks, on Prayer.

In the evening, service in Dawson Street, like ours.

Sunday is less quiet in Dublin than in the English towns. Fruits are sold in the streets, and cried. Provisions are exposed for sale, and there is much noise from talking and shouting.

Left Dublin upon the 4th of October for Waterford.

Oct. 7. — At eight, A.M., took the steamboat from Waterford to Bristol. About ten, the following morning, we entered the Avon, and had a beautiful sail up this river, by Clifton Hot Wells, where we disembarked, and drove to the "White Lion," at Bristol, about a mile.

Oct. 13. — We once more entered the great metropolis, at about two o'clock, after an absence of two months short of a day or two.

Oct. 16. — Walked in the evening to Dr. Boott's (a mile), and back again. Dr Boott is a delightful person, from his great knowledge and enthusiasm. He wishes me to stay long enough in London to know the immense treasures of science which are locked up there. "The door," he says, "is open to you. You have advantages for going everywhere, possessed by no native." And he mentioned some facts. I talked to him of France and Germany; but we agreed that England was the place for learning every thing.

Oct. 22. — At four, P.M., rode in a stage-coach to visit Dr. Roots, at Kingston. Was received most cordially, and

dined with him at six, P.M. Passed the evening most pleasantly in recollecting my old friends. Wallace, who lived in the house with me, is in or near Epsom. Scudamore, our brother-dresser, is Sir Charles. He was brought into notice by the Duke of Bedford, whom he accidentally relieved; was afterwards called to him in Ireland, and knighted by him, besides receiving a thousand guineas. Dr. Roots has a snug house and garden on the banks of the Thames.

Oct. 23. — At eleven o'clock, took leave of my kind entertainer, and reached Devonshire Street at one.

Oct. 27. — This evening, visited Mrs. Clark. Found Dr. Clark out of town, taking a week's holiday. He rises at half-past seven, breakfasts before nine, receives patients till one. Sometimes eats in the interval, and sometimes not until seven, the dinner-hour. Takes tea at ten, and sits reading or writing till one.

Left London at nine, A.M., in a stage-coach for Dover. Tremendous storm: were very near being upset beyond Canterbury, from the violence of the wind. The horses refused to proceed; but, after some time, thought better of it: and we reached Dover in safety at six, P.M. Got into comfortable quarters at the Ship Hotel, and had a nice tea.

Nov. 2. — Passed the day at Dover.

Nov. 3. — Roused at seven for boat for Calais. Arrived at twelve. At three, took a hired carriage, for which we paid six napoleons, to Paris.

Nov. 5. — Passed St. Denis in darkness and rain, and reached Paris at seven in the evening. Went to Meurice's. Received our letters. No particularly bad news.

Nov. 8. — At eleven, A.M., went out for the Faubourg St. Germain. In going, saw a collection of people at the Tuileries; and, waiting a while, had an opportunity of seeing

the king drive out in his coach and six. He is a fine-looking man; resembles William Harrison, of Philadelphia. He bowed gracefully to the people, who took their hats off. He was carefully guarded.

At twelve, reached the Faubourg; and, with Dr. Shattuck, went first to see the collection of anatomy in the Ecole de Médecine. It is mostly of wax, and not very interesting: does not seem very much improved since I was here. The wet preparations are badly put up.

Next saw the collection called Dupuytren's Museum. The room containing it was the Chapel of the Convent of Cordeliers. Very handsomely it is fitted up within, retaining the exterior of an ancient church. The preparations are mostly in wax, and, compared with others, not very good.

Then we visited the dissecting-rooms near this last museum. They are large rooms, with stone floors; very light, but not warmed. Many of the subjects were neglected by the students, and decaying; which is the case everywhere.

We called at Charrier's, the instrument-maker's; and at Guy's, the bone-preparer's. There were some fine skulls and many wax preparations.

After a visit to the Hôtel Cluny, the palace of Francis I., and looking at the Sorbonne (now used for lectures), and the College of Louis le Grand, we went to the Hôtel Dieu, which is greatly enlarged, and is now a very fine hospital. The surgeons and physicians, six in number, have each a separate ward, of great size.

Looked at the superb Church of Notre Dame, and the place where stood the palace of the archbishop, levelled by the people some years since.

Made a visit to the Hospital of the School of Medicine, and found the building to be the same as formerly, — the old

Convent of Cordeliers. I was recognized by Pierre Geraud as a former student of Dubois, though he had not seen me for thirty-five years. This hospital is much improved.

Nov. 9. — Reached the Hospice de l'Ecole, or, as it is called, Practical School, at ten. Found M. Jules Cloquet giving a clinical lecture in the old amphitheatre of Dubois, and sitting and talking much in the same manner. Waited till his lecture was over, and then gave him a letter of introduction; and, after some chat, he politely asked me to visit with him the next day. Afterwards went to hear Breschet lecture in the Amphitheatre de l'Ecole de Médecine. Breschet is a very fat man; sits at a table twelve to fifteen feet long, covered with preparations; occasionally rising to show his preparations in a very cursory way. He spoke fluently, but in a low, monotonous tone, without pauses or modulation.

He was followed by Richerand, introductory to surgery. Richerand is an old man; speaks very low, in a mumbling way, so that I could understand but little of what he said. He dwelt on the qualities of an operating surgeon, especially of experience and habit. He described the feelings of a surgeon on undertaking an important operation, — the internal tremor, the confusion of vision, and the fears which agitated him before beginning. His audience was small.

Nov. 12. — Rose at seven. Rode to the Hôtel Dieu, and was introduced to M. Louis, who seemed to have known of my being here. He was very kind and attentive. He is a tall man, with an excellent profile, large forehead and nose; has an air of sagacity and reflection; and, on the whole, is an imposing person. He went rapidly through the wards; always giving the patients the necessary attention, and always being possessed of their cases, and recollecting them for a long time back.

Dec. 30. — Left Paris for Italy.

Jan. 8. — Arrived at Marseilles.

Jan. 10. — Left Marseilles, by steamboat, for Naples. Arrived, Jan. 16, at Naples.

Jan. 19. — We went to the catacombs. They are entered through the courts of an ancient convent. There is a large open cavern, into which you enter by aid of lights, and then explore an immense extent of aisles and crossways, cut out of the rock of lava. In the sides of the passages are cavities for dead bodies, one above another, seeming to have been cut out as they were required for individuals. The passages run up and down. In some places there were two stories, and a communication by subterranean vaults with other parts of the city. Regular temples or tombs were seen, with their walls painted in fresco, with Roman deities. We were told that a Roman street ran through the cemetery towards Mola, which had been lately closed. The whole is cut out of a volcanic rock, and volcanic pillars support the roof. Our research was conducted by aid of a flambeau, and lasted an hour. In an adjoining vault are some dried bodies; but we could not readily get at them.

Jan. 27. — Peach-trees in full bloom. In the evening, went to see Dr. O'Reilly, who has been here this twenty years. He says there are no regular endemics, no yellow-fever. The measles and scarlet-fever are mild. Small-pox is not fatal; vaccination general. He described the cholera. About thirty-five thousand died in the two attacks. Opinion about contagion still divided: the current runs against it. Living is cheap. A horse is worth one hundred and fifty dollars. Dr. O'Reilly thinks the plague contagious. He does not believe in the contagion of consumption. Told a good story of the cholera, presenting himself to the magistrates of Genoa with fear under his cloak.

Feb. 1. — Left Naples, by Vettura, for Rome. Arrived there Feb. 5.

Feb. 13. — Professor Capello called this morning, after a week's time, and was very polite and intelligent. He says the intermittent fever, or what he calls "fievre tièrce maligne," is a prevalent fever in Rome during summer and autumn, and fatal unless treated by quinine. The other fevers here are the typhoid occasionally ; and, at this season, there are pulmonary inflammations. On the whole, September is the most unwholesome month. Phthisis is common, and much dreaded. However, the cases of this disease in San Spirito are few. They are, as usual, in a room by themselves.

The museum is very handsomely put up, as usual in Italy, in immense mahogany cases, so contrived, that, unless opened, many of the preparations are concealed. The pieces are not numerous, but well kept.

CHAPTER XX.

EUROPE IN 1838.

ROME, Feb. 15. — Dr. Warren witnessed the ceremonial of inducting new-made cardinals into office. Latin addresses were made; and the cardinals, kneeling, received their hats with much the same forms as those of graduation at Cambridge.

Subsequently he joined a party of about twenty Americans to visit the old church under St. Peter's, founded by Constantine, where the bones of St. Peter and St. Paul are said to be interred.

The University, or Sapienza, naturally attracted his attention. He found here a good collection of mineralogy; another, of physical instruments, — all, except the air-pump, made in Italy. He notices also in his journal the natural-history department, containing a collection of butterflies, and birds of plumage, not so beautiful as in America, — the cabinet of comparative anatomy and of human anatomy.

He visited the hospitals in company with Dr. Bucci, who gave an account of the diseases and medical practice of the place. At that time, there was little homœopathy in Rome: it has since become formidable to regular practitioners. Dr. Bucci did not seem

very decided as to the contagiousness of cholera and consumption, but was inclined to the affirmative. It may not be known to the general reader, that consumption was formerly considered contagious in France and Italy. There are, doubtless, some who still hold these views; but Dr. Warren found, that generally, in Paris and elsewhere, opinions were growing towards the side of non-contagion.

Perhaps a new and more philosophical theory of contagion may be based upon the present views with regard to the blood. Dr. Warren came to the conclusion, that erysipelas was induced by bad emanations, acting as poison, and producing an alteration in the blood itself. If this is the case, why should not consumption, cholera, typhoid-fever, act in a similar manner, and produce a change favorable to the development of epidemic influence, and also to any disorder to which the individual was predisposed? Thus we have not a specific contagion, but a miasm; or, if we prefer the expression, an unhealthy emanation, predisposing those exposed to it to disease.

The carnival was in full tide during this month in Rome. Dr. Warren pursued his daily investigations until the 1st of March, when he left this city on his way to the north.

March 1, 1838. — Rose at four; got away at six; rainy morning. Passed through the site of ancient Veii, through Nepi, Civita Castellana, Narni; and reach Terni at half-past six, P.M. They say it is seventy miles. The ride into

the Apennines very picturesque. Too late to see the falls, which are four miles distant.

March 2. — Left Terni at half-past six. Rode ten or fifteen miles, through a wild valley of the Apennines; ascended a very high mountain of the Apennines, where we were threatened with oxen to our carriage, but fought them off. Spoletto is in a beautiful situation; is famous for its resistance to Hannibal, and for the Clitumnus rising at its gate. Passed through a beautiful, picturesque country; and arrived at five at Perugia, famous for its proximity to Lake Thrasymene, for its height, for its great number of churches and convents. Saw here an arch built by Augustus, a fine fountain, the cathedral, and churches. All this day, a soft rain; clear at night; cold on the mountain. Saw snow all day on the mountains here. Lodged at Hôtel de l'Europe, — an excellent though deserted hotel.

March 3. — Rose at five; left Perugia at half-past six; morning cold, and a cloud resting on the mountain. As we descended, we got out of the cloud, and were favored with a sight of the sun. About eight miles from Perugia is the battle-field of Lake Thrasymene. It occurred on a narrow slip of land between the mountain and the lake; Hannibal descending on the Romans, who were pent up between the lake and mountain. There are relics of the Roman camp, some inscriptions near, and other marks of the battle. From here, passing on, we soon left the dominions of the Pope. We have had much trouble, in travelling, from cheating postmasters and postilions, poor horses, and a flood of beggars. The air, since we crossed the Apennines, is colder; and we have seen more snow on the neighboring hills. The appearance of the country, on entering Tuscany, is sensibly improved. The people are better looking; though, it must be said, the Pope's people are better than the Neapolitans.

At four, P.M., reached Arezzo, from which Hannibal marched to Thrasymene. Here was born Petrarca. There is a Gothic cathedral, a very fine public promenade, and some Roman remains.

March 4. — Left Arezzo at half-past six, the sun shining pleasantly; but few birds, and a cold blast from the mountains. The Apennines, covered with snow, accompanied us all the way through the day's journey, appearing very near, and quite brilliant. The country is handsome; the fields finely arranged for irrigation, and mostly covered with vines. Trees are planted for the purpose of supporting the vines, instead of hoops, as in France. There are a multitude of olives, which retain their leaves through the winter, as do the laurels and myrtles, cypresses, pines, and live-oaks. The common oaks, beside poplars, &c., are covered with the dry leaves of last season. A multitude of canals cross the country, which are so arranged as to be let into the furrows in the fields.

The Arno appeared to-day first at Arezzo, and accompanied us through our day's journey. We reached Florence at about four, P.M.; having had only one or two showers.

The appearance of Florence is not prepossessing on entering; but it is a clean town, in the dark color of its public buildings resembling Venice. After a walk on the banks of the Arno, dined. We had poor table-wine, but got a bottle of Monte Pulciano, which was cheap and good. The Tuscan wines have much reputation; but we have not seen much of them yet.

Evening at Mr. Greenough's, who received us very kindly, and answered many questions important to me.

March 5. — Boston Massacre. Rode with Mr. Greenough to Fenhi, Banker's, who gave me a ticket for Segato's preparations; then to the Cabinet de Physique. We saw, first,

the famous Cabinet of Anatomy, — a skeleton, eight feet high, of a Florentine boy, nineteen years old; very beautiful preparations of muscles, very minutely and accurately done; the arteries, veins, nerves, organs of generation; and those of the head, chest, and abdomen. Many of them were modern, all beautiful, and generally accurate. Most of them were done more than a century since. Collections in all the departments of natural history, — quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, insects, mollusca; beautiful preparations of sepia in wax; insects and mummies; bones mineralized; representation of the horrors of the plague. The collection appears very complete, and is in fine order.

Florence Gallery. — Here the Venus de Medicis stands pre-eminent. She was dug up at Adrian's Village; was in fourteen pieces; was put together, so that there is nothing new but the hands. The figure is much more beautiful than it appears in the copies, and is very captivating. The number of statues here is great, and that of pictures innumerable.

Evening at Mr. Greenough's.

March 6. — Rose at six. Day clear, and no rain. This is attributed here to uncovering an image of the Virgin, and to processions in the streets of priests singing. This is done in case of any calamity.

At three, Segato's Museum with Mr. Greenough. Fine pieces of skin of breast. Various sections of liver, lungs, and other organs; table of different pieces, morbid and healthy; various animals, finely preserved; two beautiful skulls.

Mr. Greenough's friend thinks that Segato enclosed the parts in plaster of Paris; then poured in a desiccating liquid, and varnished the plaster of Paris afterwards to retain this liquid. He used no large vessels for immersion. He went

to Egypt, it is thought, to obtain a knowledge of embalming. The pieces are two or three hundred. There are two or three blood-vessel arms, like our preparations. There is nothing brilliant or practically useful, except the animals. They would not sell any part.

In taking leave of Florence, I have thought that I have much to thank the medical men for their politeness, particularly all those named above. Many of them have excellent notions, though somewhat fettered by prescription. They are unwilling to use powerful remedies; leave nature to act. They generally speak French; and Sig. Del Greco, English. There are a number of English students of painting, and some other foreigners.

The climate has been cold; wind from the north-west, from Apennines, but dry.

Among the Americans here are the families of Child, Grund, Powers.

Florence, according to Dr. Harding, is free from intermittents, and has much the diseases of England. The people are very jealous of foreign physicians, on account of their religion; and he is obliged to proceed with caution in regard to them.

At eleven, went to bed unwell and fatigued.

March 14. — Arose at half-past three. Left Florence at five. Fine view of the valley on ascending the Apennines. About eleven, began to encounter snow in the road, and passed through it for five or six hours; that is, it lay on the roadside, and on the mountains about us. The sun being perfectly bright, the snow was dissolving, and running down the roads, as it does with us in March. A pleasant association on the top of the Apennines was ice; and, of course, thermometer not much above freezing. It is the only bright sun we have had through the day for some weeks; as the

weather, though unusually mild, has been rainy through the winter. To-day the atmosphere was transparent. We were nearly on a level with the clouds on the neighboring mountains. The only clouds we saw were those formations by the condensation of vapors from the cold of the snow-covered mountains. The brighter vapors give a beautiful blue tinge to the mountains which are less high.

The Apennines are generally sterile, though in some parts wooded. The roads are good, but mountainous, — constantly ascending and descending; of course, tedious: so that we did not reach Bologna till half-past eight, — fifteen hours, — notwithstanding extra pay to postilions.

Of course, we entered Bologna in darkness, and could only discover the piazzas which line the streets of the town.

We lodged at the San Marco; and found, contrary to expectation, very comfortable arrangements.

Dr. Warren passed much of his time in Florence in practising operations upon the dead body, obtaining preparations, visiting the hospitals, &c., making particular records of the same.

At Bologna he visited the hospital, which he found very clean, and well arranged, containing six hundred patients, and having a large wine-cellar, in which were a vast number of immense wine-butts, the supply for one year. He also visited the university, and other objects of interest in the neighborhood. On the 16th, proceeded on his way through Ferrara to Padua, where he visited the famous university, at

which eighteen thousand students were once taught; and, on the 17th, arrived at Venice. Found the water — which is rain-water, filtered by passing through sand — better than anywhere else. Venice had only two springs, both in the precinct of the Ducal Palace. The hospital is capable of containing a thousand patients, and has two or three squares of gardens, very large and pleasant. Rima was the principal surgeon. On the 20th, left Venice, and proceeded through Vicenza and Verona, visiting the remarkable things at those cities on his way to Paris, through Munich and Frankfort, after passing ten weeks in Italy.

A part of the journey to Munich he employed in considering and noting down what improvements he should undertake on his return home. His notes are as follows: —

A. In the Medical School, — 1. Open a library for students. 2. Private conversation with students. 3. Dissecting-room on an improved plan; lights, and dissection in the evening. 4. Bodies preserved by arsenic.

B. In the hospital, — 1. A more exact attendance. 2. More chemical instruction.

C. In private practice, — A more full investigation of cases; a more free and friendly intercourse with patients, especially poor ones.

D. In the church, — Enlarged accommodations for the poor. Encouragement for private religious meetings.

E. Domestic devotion.

F. Public improvements, — Bringing in water. Encouragement of political content.
G. Erection of a tomb or monument in form of a pyramid.
H. Construction of a small dissecting-room; also a glass room outside of my window.
I. Improvements in the country, — Raising of grapes; foreign medicinal plants.
K. Above all, a more steady devotion, more thankfulness for the blessings of life, and more preparation for death.

At Munich he saw Professors Walter, the oculist; and Wilhelm, a famous surgeon. With M. Walter he visited the hospital, capable of containing about five hundred patients. Here was a magnificent collection of surgical instruments. The instruments for lithotrity were really splendid. There were about three hundred students in the university, one-third of which attended the hospital. Passed through Ulm and Stutgard to Heidelberg, where he called upon Professor Tiedeman, whom he found at dinner, between twelve and one, according to German habits. Visited with him his large collections of anatomical preparations, which he had been twenty-two years collecting. From Heidelberg, passed on through Mayence, Frankfort, Coblentz, Cologne, Aix la Chapelle, to Brussels, examining and noting whatever there was remarkable on the road. In this neighborhood he visited the village of Waterloo, and the other spots now so famous in history. Brussels was

entirely changed since 1801, so many new houses and palaces have been built.

Found the Germans a civil, honest, intelligent people; the towns handsome, and the country well cultivated. The women work equally with the men. The Belgian country, being more free than the German, is better cultivated, and there are more manufactories. "Every thing breathes the spirit of freedom. You are no longer teased for your passports. The Belgians are very happy, and have as much freedom as the English, and less aristocracy."

Here he visited Seutin, the inventor of the bandage *amidonné*, and went to the Hospital St. Pierre with him. On the next day, called on Professor Ugtenhausen, who took him over the Hospital St. Jean. On the 10th of April, arrived in Paris about two o'clock, and went directly to a meeting of the Academy, where he heard a paper on Contagion read. Only one person spoke in favor of the contagion of cholera. In a subsequent conversation with Dr. Louis, the latter said that the whole matter lay in obscurity at present, but he is disposed to believe the plague contagious; yellow-fever and typhus contagious under certain circumstances; cholera not contagious. For catarrh, Louis gives one-quarter of a grain of opium at night.

Dr. Warren was confined some days to the house by catarrh after his arrival in Paris, and was visited by M. Louis. After he got out, he was much interested in visiting the paper anatomy of Dr. Auzoux,

which he found very beautiful; in investigating the mode of preserving bodies, by M. Ganal; examining bandages to be applied after division of the tendo Achillis; the apparatus for cure of distorted feet, without operation; and similar objects of medical interest. He attended the hospitals constantly, and pretty soon found himself with a regular set of patients requiring daily attendance, — of course, among the Americans. He dissected a good deal, and practised operations with the French surgeons, especially that of lithotrity with Civiale.

On all other days, except Sundays, his time was spent, like that of the most diligent student, in passing from hospital to hospital; from thence to lecture; hence to the dissecting-room; and, in the intervening time, visiting instrument-makers; embalmers; M. Martin, the orthopedist, and inventor of bandages and apparatus for club-feet and distortions; artists who made wax preparations; and others. The evenings, till a late hour, were spent in cultivating the acquaintance of physicians and surgeons of the country. He also constantly attended the meetings of the Academy of Medicine.

Upon the 9th of May, he visited the magnificent establishment of M. Guerin, at Passy, for the cure of deformities, by exercises.

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May 22. — At six in the morning, was called to see the embalming of Talleyrand; which consisted in taking out

the viscera, and placing them for some time in a preserving liquor, and then returning them. The brain was removed by trephine, and the whole immersed in an alcoholic solution of corrosive sublimate for ten hours. Incisions were made in the muscles, and filled with essences and powders; and then the whole body, except the face, strapped with diachylon plasters.

May 25. — Rose early, and continued my labors for departing. At two, left Paris in rail-cars for St. Germain. Passed the night at Maisons, in the midst of delightful woods and groves. Heard the music of the nightingales for the first time. We had a very agreeable evening in company with Mr. H. Cabot's family, and Mr. F. Gray, of Boston.

May 26. — Left Maisons, and embarked on the steamboat to go down the Seine. The passage through the river is quite beautiful, and more varied than the scenery of most rivers. The little towns on the banks appear very pretty and interesting as you pass them; and there are old churches and convents scattered along the banks. Among the passengers were Professor and Mrs. Farrar, of Cambridge. The boat was very slow; so that we did not reach Rouen till nine o'clock, and had some difficulty in procuring lodgings. After securing a place of shelter, we walked through the town, and saw the Cathedral, which is fine and imposing.

May 27. — Rose at four, being told the steamboat was to go at five. As it did not move till six, we had an hour to walk about the town. Saw the inside of the Cathedral; some very old and fine churches; the Monument of Joan of Arc, who was burnt, — a very poor work; the ancient Hall of Justice, — a fine Gothic building.

The streets are narrow; but the quays and boulevards are fine, and give the city a pleasant air.

May 28. — Very pleasant sail down the lower part of the

Seine. The ruins of the Abbey of Tremiège presented an uncommonly picturesque appearance. The garden of M. ——, with its regular alleys, is very handsome.

At one, we reached Havre, which had less appearance of bustle than I expected. The harbor, for the short time we were there, appeared contracted. But we were obliged to go directly from one boat to another, so that we had little opportunity of seeing the place. The town appeared more pleasant than I supposed.

Honfleur and Harfleur, in its neighborhood, are both beautifully situated. The harbor of Harfleur is no more. As soon as we got out, the wind became violent ahead; a high sea; and so we had a miserable sea-sick time, with no conveniences till we reached London next day,—Monday, May 28.

Landing near the town, we entered the Custom House, and left our goods in the care of our domestic to enter, while we rode on, and took up quarters at the Sackville Hotel, in Sackville Street.

The transition from Paris to London, he says, gives an impression unfavorable to the latter place, as far as appearances and things are concerned. With regard to the people, the reverse is the case.

He attended the lectures of Mr. Owen, on the structure of the teeth, and other subjects of comparative anatomy; and visited Bartholomew's Hospital to witness the operations of Mr. Lawrence. Received much kindness and attention from Mr. Travers, "one of the best men in London." Also met with Guthrie, Sir H. Halford, Herbert Mayo, Mr. Lister, and other distinguished men.

On the 28th of June, the coronation took place. Subsequently, he obtained admission to the House of Lords, where he had an opportunity of hearing Brougham, Lord Wellington, and other distinguished characters. He thought Lord Brougham the best speaker.

The subject of typhus and typhoid fever excited much of his attention. The fever he found prevailing with an eruption was said to have originated within two or three years, and since the appearance of the cholera. At the Middlesex Hospital he found many cases, and they were generally received in an incipient state. The treatment consisted in shaving the head, and giving a little castor-oil: but they relied principally upon beef-tea, porter, and wine, in an early stage; scarcely giving mercury, antimony, or any drastic medicine; nor do they bleed, although the lungs are frequently affected. The patients here are people of the lowest class. A travelled physician whom he met at this hospital stoutly denied the utility of the English practice of purging. His doctrine was, wait till the disease is formed, and then attack the symptoms. This, says Dr. Warren, is nearly the doctrine of Louis.

Dr. Roupell contests the distinction between typhus and typhoid. He maintains they are shades of the same fever.

Dr. Warren and his family sailed from Portsmouth on the 22d of July. He was fortunate in finding on board a medical gentleman from Switzerland, with a

letter to him, with whom he had much interesting conversation.

He passed his time on board ship in reviewing his labors while in Europe, and arranging and studying the various subjects of information and instruction he had obtained under their different heads. Some of his concluding reflections are as follows. They give the interesting results of his researches and experience in foreign travel, and of his reflections thereon; and embody hints upon which he afterwards diligently acted, as circumstances admitted, through the rest of his life.

The greatest benefit which we can notice of a tour in Europe is the lifting us, as it were, from the ordinary course of events, so that we obtain a more extended and independent view of our profession and of the general course of things. We have an opportunity of comparing different modes of practice, and of noting advances made in different places in the different departments. It gives us a new start in professional views, and increases our interest in many points, and particularly in the works of authors with whom we have gained a personal acquaintance. We learn, also, to judge of the estimation in which modern works are held.

It is true, we might obtain much the same knowledge by a careful comparison of foreign journals; but it is difficult to do this with sufficient interest to be profitable in the way of comparison.

On returning home, it is necessary to avoid any apparent assumption of superiority, and to be rather backward in communicating opinions and discoveries, and in proposing

changes. All this must be done, however, in a gradual way; always taking grounds that are sound, tenable, and practical. In regard to the estimates of foreign and domestic comforts, health, climate, &c., these are generally favorable to our country; though there is room for improvement in many particulars, — the establishment of a general scientific association, of an institution for the arts, and the improvement of private or pupilary education.

In regard to the latter, there must be a freer communication with students, — say, weekly; and, if each should be desired to bring forward something new which he had read, it would improve the whole.

The public lectures must be longer, and the means of reading opened to the students. The hospital advantages should be made more practical. The diffusion of prizes among the students should be attended to. Dissections of animals should be encouraged to a certain extent. The knowledge of natural history and scientific cultivation should be thought of.

The absurd prejudices in favor of public opinion, and especially that of newspapers, should be avoided. The establishment of a weekly meeting of men favorable to improvement should be effected. In getting up considerable works, we must not be in too much haste. Begin well, and let posterity finish. Above all, the interests of religion and morals should claim a primary consideration, and a proper share of time and attention. Our ancient feelings should be put out of view. Ancient men, and relics of antiquity, should be cultivated.

One thing also is essential; that is, not to go beyond one's strength. After working from thirty-five to forty years, one should give up the idea of severe and profitable labor, and work moderately.

Among things important to be done is to better the condition of the poor in the alms-houses, especially of the sick poor, the arrangements for whom are very deficient. The ventilation of their rooms is especially bad.

On the day after his arrival in New York, Dr. Warren received a visit from Chancellor Matthews, who informed him he was chosen Professor of Anatomy, and Dean of the Faculty, in the University of New York. The chancellor expressed his desire that he would accept the appointment. He thought he might wish to restrict his practice to particular cases, and to pass some time in writing. He stated further, that, if the doctor did not wish to reside in New York, the delivery of a few lectures would be desirable, and that Dr. Post would assist. Various other gentlemen called upon him to offer him inducements to accept the election.

On the 30th of July, he arrived safely at his house in Park Street.

While at Liverpool, in 1837, Dr. Warren read a paper before the British Association, giving "Some Remarks on the Crania of the Mound Indians of the Interior of North America, as compared with the Crania of the South-American Indians of Peru."

He gave an account of his accidentally coming into possession of a singular skull many years ago, which was traced as coming from a cavern on the top of an almost inaccessible rock, on the banks of the Ohio River. It was supposed to belong to a race whose

bones were found deposited in the mounds in the interior of North America. These mounds were found in nearly inaccessible forests, covered with immense trees, denoting their extreme antiquity. They were intended partly for the purpose of interment, partly as places of worship ; and an excavation on their summit probably was the spot where human sacrifices were made.

Dr. Warren found a remarkable resemblance between these skulls and those of the ancient Peruvians ; showing that the two races, though a thousand to fifteen hundred miles apart, with other nations intervening, were of one origin. The American Indians, he thought, had emanated from two sources, — one from the south part of America, the other from the North-west Coast. He intimated that there had been observed some resemblance between the heads described and those of the Hindoo race.

The communication was received very favorably, and a vote of thanks was unanimously passed.

A fuller account of this paper may be found in the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" for November, 1837.

In his able and concise Memoir of Dr. Warren, read to the Society of Natural History in December, 1856, Dr. Wyman says, —

"I believe some credit belongs to him, as being among the first, if not the first, to point out on anatomical grounds the probability of another and more advanced race having existed in the Western country

previous to those who were found there at the time it was discovered and explored by the Europeans."

It will be observed in the above paper, that Dr. Warren set forth no claims before a British audience, as he might have done, to a discovery. He simply stated anatomical facts which had come under his own observation, leaving it to others to form conclusions or build up theories upon the interesting subject of the origin of the American races.

Dr. Roots to Dr. Warren.

My dear old Friend, — By a chain of accidental circumstances, I have discovered that my much-valued old friend and colleague, John Collins Warren, M.D., &c., &c., but with a title still much stronger, — namely, the *original friend* of that old eccentric animal, William Roots, in his earliest years, — is, at this present moment, in the little dirty mole-hill of a spot called Great Britain. Should this letter by happy chance meet with you, and should you be induced before you leave England to visit London, I hope and trust you will let me know of your arrival; as, I assure you, it will give me the greatest pleasure to see at my cabin, on the banks of the Thames, one that I valued so highly in my younger years.

You will find me grown very old, gray, and bald-headed; but you will find me with a heart as young and as warm as ever to meet the kind society of my earliest days. In short, Warren, if you should come to London, and *should not let me know of your arrival*, never expect to meet me on friendly terms in the *third* or *other world*.

With kindest feelings of recollections and regards, believe me always

Your sincere and fast old friend,

Wm. Roots!

SURBITON, KINGSTON UPON THAMES, Sept. 10, 1837.

Extract from a Letter from London.

AUGUST, 1837.

I wish it was in my power to give my friends at home some notion of the advances our science has made in this country; but they run into every department of the profession, and are, of course, so numerous that I cannot describe them. To understand, you must see them. It is no discredit to our country that we do not keep pace with Europe in the improvement of physical science. The division of labor, the high rewards of successful industry, but, above all, the collision and comparison of opinions between the master-spirits of the day, give to Europe advantages which America cannot expect to attain at present. We are, however, advancing so rapidly, that we shall not be far behind them.

Among the most active and successful cultivators of science is Dr. Arnott, the inventor of the water-bed. The sofa on which we sat at his house was of the same description; and I would state for the information of any one who may have occasion to use the water-beds, that the water in this sofa had not been changed for a number of years, and was perfectly sweet at the time I saw it.

Sir Astley Cooper continues to be one of the most zealous and successful cultivators of anatomical and pathological science. Having acquired an ample fortune, he has no occasion to submit to the laborious and responsible duties

of the profession; but he is ready at stated hours to give advice to those who apply, both at his own house and in the town. He rises early, and employs two or three hours in anatomical and surgical investigations before breakfast; afterwards he receives patients at his house till two; then visits till six or seven, — the common hour of dinner. And when he entertains, which he frequently does, the evening is devoted to his friends; and when not, he commits to writing what he has seen in the day. He does not regularly attend any hospital; though, as consulting surgeon of Guy's, he is ready to visit when he can be useful; and his attendance is hailed with pleasure by the surgeons, as a gratifying occurrence. You may ask, perhaps, what subjects he investigates. He told me he was employed in studying the anatomy of the female breast, as a preparation to his work on the malignant diseases of that organ. When he intends to publish, he did not say; probably it may be some time first. The researches necessary to elucidate this subject require frequent injections and dissections. His injections are among the most beautiful and fortunate which now exist. Those of the thymus gland finely illustrate the anatomy of this organ, and go far to establish its physiology. As an example of his great industry and insuperable perseverance, I will state a fact. He accidentally came in possession of the whole viscera of the thorax and abdomen, exhibiting phenomena which are rare, and of which there is no existing preparation. Sir Astley determined to inject, and preserve this as a dried preparation. The labor in securing the thousand small wounded vessels did not deter him. He succeeded in injecting and preserving all the organs, even the liver, in a dried state; and produced an invaluable preparation, which may last for centuries. This distinguished person is now in Edinburgh,

the first time for fifty years, and has been received with great cordiality by the profession; and a public dinner is to be given to him by the Royal College of Surgeons.

The number of distinguished men in London is so great, that I am doubtful of the propriety of speaking of any individual; aware, as I am, of the impossibility of doing justice to the characters of such men in a few words. The editor of the Works, and author of the Biography, of Dr. Armstrong, is almost as well known in our country as in England. In this he holds a high reputation, both as an author and as a man of science. And, to show the standing that he occupies here, it is sufficient to mention that he has lately been selected as one of the governors of the new university.

The friend of Dr. Boott — Dr. James Clark, since Sir James Clark — is also well known in our country. Dr. Clark is the author of the best treatise on consumption which we have in the language, — a work which places the prevention and treatment of this great enemy of our race in a more distinct light and on a more rational plan than any other. Every physician and every student should read it; and they will there find all they require to conduct them in those practical pursuits, for which no reading can be a substitute. Dr. Clark is a person whose character and manners excite extraordinary interest in those who meet him. Quiet and retiring in manner, yet whatever he says shows thought and good judgment. He is now physician to the Queen, and has reposed in him a high degree of confidence by distinguished persons. . . . .

J. C. Warren.

Extract from a Letter from Paris.

PARIS, Dec. 30, 1837.

The hospitals of Paris are much improved of late years. The Hôtel Dieu was formerly made to contain five or six thousand patients: now, the number does not exceed twelve hundred. The wards are very large, perfectly clean, and as rarely present disagreeable effluvia as any rooms, containing a large collection of human beings, could be expected to do. But, although every thing appears fair, the mortality in these wards, especially after surgical operations, is much greater than in private houses. This is a general fact in hospitals; and the extent of its application, other things being equal, is proportionate to the number of persons placed in one enclosure. Small hospitals are, therefore, more healthy than large; and private houses more so than hospitals. Among the physicians of the Hôtel Dieu, there is none so well known with us, and none so highly esteemed, as M. Louis, the celebrated author of the application of the numerical method to observations on fevers, with the view of ascertaining, with arithmetical precision, the phenomena which belong to this important disease. I was introduced to him at the Hôtel Dieu in the morning. When I approached the bed where he was making his visit with the aid of a dimly burning candle, towering in the midst of the pupils, I saw a tall, upright man, with a countenance rather pale, bearing the marks of sagacity and deep reflection. He was intently occupied with his patient, and seemed to be conscious of nothing but what related to him. His inquiries were very minute; and, when the patient gave him doubtful answers (which he frequently did), he repeated the questions until he received definite answers. Although his questions were rapidly asked, the investiga-

tion was long before he became satisfied that he had possession of all the important facts. He then gave to the students a brief abstract of the history of the case, his opinion as to its nature, and terminated with a prescription.

As he left the bed, and I was presented to him by my friend, his countenance relaxed, and he received me with the greatest politeness. As I walked round with him, he made known the nature of all the interesting cases, and encouraged me to question him, and to make such remarks as occurred to me. Since then, I have frequently visited with him, and always with gratification. The interest is most deep when a new patient is presented, as then the character of the disease is to be made out. As all the cases are carefully recorded, such a mode of investigating the diseases must afford a mass of knowledge. The difficulty in bringing out useful results from such a multitude of observations lies in the successive application of synthetical and analytical reasoning to the cases. In private conversations I had with M. Louis, he explained to me his mode of drawing his inductions; which appeared to me to be a practical mode of exact philosophizing. It is not in my power to give a correct notion of it; but, for the satisfaction of those who may wish to have some idea of his method, I will state, that, 1. From the journal of diseases, containing, for example, sixty cases, he made a table, at the head of which were placed all the principal symptoms of the disease; in separate columns, and on the left hand of the table, the list of patients; then in each column was placed the character of each symptom in each patient. This table was of extraordinary extent. 2. From the first table another was then made, in which were brought together the symptoms of each of the columns, showing the number of cases in which any particular symptom occurred. The labor necessary to

accomplish such a work is immense; and I should have found it difficult to conceive of it, had I not seen the tables themselves. As, however, the whole of these tables and inferences are based on correct observation, the first step in the process is to observe with accuracy. The manner in which this is to be done is stated with exactness in a paper just published by M. Louis, in the first volume of "Memoirs of the Medical Society of Observation." You wish to know how I have been received here. In reply, it gives me pleasure to say, that every facility has been afforded me for obtaining the information I wish, and all possible kindness shown in public and in private. The surgeons, in going round the wards, call for me at every interesting case, often request me to examine the patient, and ask my opinion. If it does not accord with theirs, we have a discussion. At the surgical operations, I am always placed near the table, and sometimes assist the operator. At the lectures, the professor always offers me a chair by his side. In the Royal Academy of Medicine, they have more than once favored me with an honorable notice. I mention these facts with more pleasure, because I had been informed that the French were very careless in regard to foreigners. But I must say, that their professional attentions and private hospitalities are such as must be most gratifying and satisfactory to a stranger.

Accept the assurances of respect

From your friend and servant, &c.,

J. C. Warren.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Dr. M. Chervin visited the United States and the West Indies for the purpose of investigating the facts relating to the contagious quality of yellow-fever. He brought me letters from Paris, and requested me to aid in the prosecution of his inquiries here. Afterwards I procured for him various papers relating to the yellow-fever, and wrote a memorial on the subject myself. In consequence of this, he nominated me to the Royal Academy of Medicine as a corresponding member; which was the first instance of a member being elected from this part of the country. When I went to Paris in 1837, he was very useful to me. He was excessively poor, scarcely having bread to eat; but some of his medical friends lent him money to prosecute his researches on yellow-fever and other contagious diseases. His labors effected a great revolution in France ultimately. The French were all desperate contagionists; but, owing principally to his labors, a movement was begun, which did not stop till it had wrought a general change of sentiment, which has produced a great influence on the rest of Europe. He died in 1847, and left a will, in which, commenting in a touching manner on the neglect and poverty in which he had lived and died, he decreed his debts to his country.

CHAPTER XXI.

COMMENCEMENT OF A DOMESTIC JOURNAL.

DR. WARREN reached home the last of August. With a very slight pause, he immediately resumed his labors; and we find him full as busy in professional pursuits as ever. He now, however, devoted less time to the daily routine of professional visits, but more to the scientific improvement of medicine, and subjects connected with it. Sept. 1, he commenced what he designates as a domestic journal; and this he continued, with very little intermission, until within a few of the last days of his life.

Some extracts from this journal will serve to show the subjects of his thoughts, and the various occupations in which he was now engaged. A very large portion of the whole journal consists of an account of medical cases, operations performed, modes of operating, &c., which are omitted here, as out of place in the present work.

1838. — Commenced a journal, Sept. 1.

Yesterday finished my European journal. Resolved to try to keep a domestic one, without much hopes of success.

Having seen my family friends, called on Mr. and Mrs. ——, and found them in a good state of health. Visited my horses; and, in the evening, attended a meeting of the Faculty. Had a long conversation on European matters, and was appointed to deliver the Introductory to the courses. I proposed to lengthen the courses to four months; which was favorably received, but could not be adopted at present.

Sept. 2, Sunday. — After service, looked over my old papers, and found my impressions, on comparison, not changed.

Sept. 4. — Visited the Hospital for the first time. It looks remarkably neat and well.

Sept. 5. — In the evening, had a conversation with Mr. Abbott Lawrence on the subject of a Repository of Arts. Must see him again in two or three days.

Sept. 6. — Examined my instruments from Europe, and found them in good order.

Sept. 8. — Attended a meeting of Directors of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, and made some remarks with a view to prevent the building of houses on the battle-ground; which were well received: but I fear there is little hope of accomplishing this prevention. However, a committee was chosen to see what sacrifices the landholders were willing to make.

Dined at Governor Winthrop's, and attempted to show the folly of animal magnetism. Judge Story and Governor Everett concerned.

We also had an important conversation on the formation of an American Association; and are to meet on Friday, at twelve, to discuss the subject.

Sept. 13. — First meeting of Temperance Council. Great change of affairs this last year.

Sept. 14. — In consequence of orders from the Bunker-

Hill Monument Association, made an agreement with T. B. Wales to suspend the work thereon.

Sept. 15. — Met Judge Story and Governor Everett at the Academy's room, to discuss the formation of an American Association for the Promotion of Science. After many plans for opening the business had been suggested, agreed to request a gentleman in Philadelphia to sound the feelings of American Philosophical Society.

Sept. 23. — Wrote letters for M. to the South; a letter to Dr. Horner, on forming an American Institution.

Oct. 1, P.M. — Visited an old friend, and had a pretty serious talk. Discussion of the advantages of aristocracy and democracy; on too much attention to public opinion, instead of conscience; and various other important topics.

Oct. 6. — Last evening, had a second meeting of private students at my house. Explained to them the anatomy of the ear, and gave a clinical lecture on cases in the Hospital.

Oct. 12. — Addressed a note to Governor Everett on the British Association, proposing a meeting with him and Judge Story.

Oct. 15. — Met Governor Everett and Judge Story on the subject of an American Association for Advancement of Science. Decided to call a meeting of gentlemen on the subject on Saturday, 20th.

Oct. 27. — Meeting of Committee of Correspondence of American Association. Decided to notify the American Philosophical Society of our proceedings, and to invite scientific gentlemen to co-operate.

Oct. 30. — Wrote a circular on the subject of the British Association, and sent it to the printer, ordering fifty copies.

Nov. 7. — First day of the lectures. Rose early, and

read over my Introductory aloud. Every time I read it, I find many corrections to be made, especially when it is read aloud. Although finished a month ago, found many corrections and additions, which pressed me for time to the last minute. Went to the College at half-past nine, passed an hour and a half in preparing plates, &c., and then looked over my lecture.

Nov. 8. — At six, P.M., attended the dinner given by the physicians to Dr. Jackson and myself. Dr. Bigelow presided with great spirit and effect.

Dr. Jackson made an interesting speech, and referred to our early acquaintance. I replied, and made another, half an hour long. Dr. Reynolds made a fine speech. The occasion was most interesting. We were kept till twelve, midnight.

Completed one book of this journal, contrary to my expectation when I began.

Dec. 3. — Subscribed, by Dr. Morton's request, to his work on Crania; he offering to give me the copy, in consequence of the service rendered him in the prosecution of the work.

Dec. 22. — Had some conversation with the Rev. Dr. Channing on the subject of a meeting for the promotion of science. He is quite favorable to it, and wrote me a letter on the subject directly after.

Dec. 23. — To-day, came to a conclusion on two subjects: 1. To attempt the formation of a scientific meeting here; 2. To decline being churchwarden again.

1839, Jan. 1. — Rose before seven; rather earlier than usual, but not so early as my ancient habits prescribed.

Made various arrangements before breakfast, which was exactly at eight. Read about an hour on the subject of my lecture, — the nerves. Made three visits; went to the Medi-

cal College; afterwards one visit. Went out at four, and visited till seven, partly on foot. It is now four months since I got home. I have not, owing to the kindness of Providence, experienced a single catarrh since my return; a very long period for me. This may be attributed, 1. To change of climate; 2. To constant foot-exercise; 3. To dipping the feet in cold water, and much friction.

Made a number of visits, did a difficult dissection of the nerves, and lectured.

Jan. 2. — Studied the physiology of the nerves; have had hard work with this subject. Company at dinner, Rev. Dr. Stone. Agreed to give the Hospital Reports to a new medical journal.

Feb. 5. — Last evening, attended the opening of the new vestry-room, or chapel, of St. Paul's. Interesting services by Dr. Stone. Afterwards walked down to Mr. C.'s. Weather very cold and windy. Between nine and ten, came home much fatigued. This proved my last visit to Mr. C., who had been my father's and my patient more than forty years. He died of organic disease of the heart, and too much stimulus, at the age of sixty-seven. Has had an intermittent pulse fifteen years, and lately so indistinct as to be scarcely perceptible.

Feb. 8. — Mocking-bird began to sing three or four days since. Is quite sprightly, and has a variety of notes.

Last evening, at half-past six, dined, by invitation, with Society for Medical Improvement. Gave an account of Cloquet.

March 6. — Attended a meeting of the Natural-History Society with much pleasure.

In evening, Mr. Otis, translator of Botta, made me a visit. Read the preface to a translation of the Tusculan Conversations, which he is to publish.

March 15. — Went out early to see Mr. Pickering on the subject of appearing before a Committee of Legislature about carrying water.

Evening, a meeting at my house, of forty gentlemen, on the subject of promoting physical science. Read to them a communication from the American Philosophical Society, one from Professor Silliman, one from Rev. Dr. Channing, &c. Showed the microscope and various skeletons.

May 26, 27. — Bad eyes; can't write.

June 6. — Inflammation of eyes by dissecting a putrid subject, and using chlorine gas. Rupture of a vessel in left eye; better to-day.

June 17. — Attended Bunker-Hill Monument Association.

July 4. — Went to Temperance Celebration at half-past twelve. Procession; dinner at half-past two; broke up at seven. Things went off well. Near fifteen hundred persons present. Got home soon after eight.

July 13. — With Mr. Guild, went to the Agricultural Society's meeting, at Mr. Phinney's, in Lexington. Mr. Phinney showed us his peat-meadows converted into pasture; fine fruit-trees, apples, pigs, and cattle, of the finest.

July 30. — Last evening, the worthy magistrates of Brookline proposed to wheel the old schoolhouse through my land, cutting down trees, breaking walls, &c.

Called on Miss A. Had a conversation on the —— affair, in which she advised me not to meddle in the matter. Good advice, and such as few friends would have ventured to give.

Aug. 5. — Had a severe attack yesterday while riding on horseback. Suffered great pain till I went to bed. Took some hot drink, on the idea that the disorder was in part caused by not drinking sufficiently. To-day, slightly affected. Took a solution of gum arabic, with chloric

ether. Drank some Balston or Saratoga water to dilute. Took a warm bath. The last attack as severe as this was fourteen years ago, on the day of the anniversary celebration of Lexington fight, at Concord, in 1825; during which day I suffered much, and have occasionally at other times.

Aug. 24. — Reports of a case of malignant cholera in Tremont Street.

Sept. 15. — Captain Cook, operated upon for extirpation of half the lower jaw, well, and has scarcely a scar.

Gave one hundred and fifty drops tr. opii, in addition to ten grains of opium given an hour before the operation; did not make him sleepy.

Oct. 20. — Keep myself warm in my room by burning alcohol. After various experiments, find burning it in a small pint or half-pint tin pot most convenient.

Oct. 22. — Died Dr. ——; a good man, with a bad temper.

Nov. 5. — At the request of a Committee of Trustees of Massachusetts General Hospital, agreed to their having a copy of the Surgical Records made, or that they should be left to the hospital at my decease.

Nov. 16. — A case of admission of air into the veins.

Nov. 27. — Alarm of small-pox increases. Many re-vaccinations.

Dec. 2. — Subscribed two hundred dollars for Cambridge Observatory.

Dec. 8. — Received a visit from Mr. Audubon.

Dec. 21. — Last evening, at Dr. E. W.'s. Party very gay; rather above my mark, as I suffer from a rheumatic affection, consequent upon a strain produced by lifting.

By this journal, we find that Dr. Warren engaged at once in the pursuits to which he had determined to devote himself, in addition to labors exclusively professional.

He attended a meeting of the Faculty, and was appointed to deliver the Introductory Lecture on the opening of the course. On the 2d of September, he visited the Hospital. On the 8th, he attended a meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Association, and exerted himself very strongly in behalf of what had always been his earnest wish, — next to the completion of the Monument, — to preserve the battle-ground free from buildings. We find him also discussing a project for the formation of an American Scientific Association with Governor Everett, Judge Story, and others. On the 13th, he resumed his temperance labors by attending a meeting of the Council of the Massachusetts Temperance Society.

On the 7th of November, he gave his Introductory Lecture to the medical class. His journal shows, in more than one place, the labor and anxiety which he bestowed upon this matter. In this lecture, he gave an account of the results he had obtained from his visit to Europe; comprising a view of science abroad, and of the various improvements in physical and medical science with which he had become acquainted.

About this time commenced a new era in medicine. The distinction between typhus and typhoid fever was then in embryo. The results promulgated by Marshall Hall were new; and there was much

other matter of novelty just started into existence, part of which is now settled matter of science.

On the succeeding day, a dinner was given, by the physicians of Boston, to Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson. It was very fully attended, and was described universally, by those present, as an occasion of very great interest and enjoyment.

It was a novelty in Boston. A dinner had never before been given to a member of the Medical Society, with the exception of Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, on his centennial anniversary. A full account of this dinner was given in the "Boston Medical Journal," and will be found in volume xix., page 293, of that work.

In reviewing Dr. Warren's labors from the time of his return, there is one thing that strikes us forcibly, and which is confirmed by every succeeding page of this Memoir, as well as by what has gone before.

This is, his tenacity of purpose. In engaging in a new object of interest, though entering upon it with an apparently all-absorbing ardor, he never neglects or loses sight of former objects. Thus, immediately on his return from Europe in 1802, we find him engaged in an analysis of the Boston water, and showing the pernicious effects of it. We find him continuing his exertions in after-years on this subject, and never abandoning it until he finally witnessed the introduction of the Cochituate water into the city of Boston. In the same manner, he engaged, on his first return from Europe in 1802, in a scientific society.

His constant medical occupations caused him necessarily to lay aside this and other similar objects of interest for a number of years; but, the moment his retirement from the active daily routine of professional life permitted, we find him laboring with greater earnestness than ever to excite interest in general science. So, also, his early love of the country, — though for years very rarely indulged, — and his interest in agriculture, never abandoned him. The pleasure which he describes himself as enjoying, when a schoolboy, from his semi-weekly visits to Jamaica Plain, he evinced equally in 1825, 1830, during his most busy career.

So in regard to the Temperance cause. From his first connection with the society, almost to his last breath, his ardor in the cause went on with still increasing earnestness. His love for the military art, and every thing connected with it, never declined. We find him, within a year before his death, ordering an elegant pair of improved revolvers from England. Though strictly avoiding politics while pursuing his professional course, we see him, in 1850, presiding at a political meeting in Fanueil Hall, and speaking with great warmth and earnestness in behalf of what he considered the true welfare of his fellow-citizens and his country. We find him at this period mixing in a mob, with the same spirit as in England in 1800, and offering his services to the mayor in support of order.

The remarkable feature of all this varied interest

is, that he never allowed other pursuits to distract his attention from his profession, — even from the time when he began to devolve his labors upon his son. Improvement of medical and surgical science and art was always his first object, his main business through life; evinced, after death, in his final legacy to the profession, by which he should still continue to afford instruction in his physical form. It may truly be said, that a subject, once earnestly taken up by him, he never let slip from his grasp.

It is a matter of melancholy interest to find in the journal, as we pass on, the record of the death of an old patient, — as on Feb. 5; one who had been a patient of the father and son for over forty years, and died at the age of sixty-seven. How much of a man's history may be conveyed to the mind by a few short lines in a physician's note-book! Miss Lee founded her "Canterbury Tales" upon the brief register of the arrival and departure of guests at a watering-place boarding-house; but how much more is conveyed in a physician's record! The stranger may pass over the words unheeding, as we pass by the record on a gravestone; the poet may found a tale of romance upon it: but, to the physician, the friend, or acquaintance, what a long vista of human life is opened at once! As the individual in the "Spectator," who lived through a long life during an instant's immersion of his head in a tub of water; so do these few brief words present a long picture of varying hopes and fears; the sufferings of the patient; his alterna-

tions of relief; his struggles with injurious habits; the anxiety and hopes of the wife and daughters alternately depressed, alternately revived; the narrow circumstances, at the time of the physician's early attendance, gradually giving way to comfort, and finally to affluence and luxury, obtained by careful industry; luxury, and want of occupation, producing disease, and, eventually, habits of excess; sometimes broken off by the remonstrances of the physician and the experience of suffering, but soon resumed to a greater degree than before.

We find him attending, by invitation, a dinner of the Medical Improvement Society; next, a meeting of the Society of Natural History; after which, listening to the reading of a translation by Mr. Otis, who translated Botta's History; the next day, visiting Mr. P—— to consult about the introduction of pure water; and, in the evening, receiving a company of forty gentlemen to discuss the promotion of physical science. On the 17th of June came the annual meeting of the Bunker-Hill Monument Society; and, on the Fourth of July, the celebration of the Temperance Society, — nearly eighteen hundred persons being present. On the 13th, a meeting of the Agricultural Society, at Lexington.

On the 26th came a meeting of the Consulting Physicians of Boston to designate a candidate for the South-Boston institutions, then first united under a resident physician.

The other records of his journal (which are omit-

ted) show him constantly occupied in surgical and medical practice, visiting at the Hospital, and performing operations. During the year 1839, he seems to have been too actively employed to allow him to prepare any thing for publication.

During this year, he became an active member of the Agricultural Society. Of his connection with this society, he gives the following account.

CHAPTER XXII.

AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

In the year 1839, on purchasing my country place, I determined not to lay out money upon it. But, in that year, I was chosen one of the Trustees of the Agricultural Society. This led me to give some attention to agricultural subjects; and I read through a number of works on botany, vegetable physiology, and practical agriculture. In the year 1840, I began to plant the Heath* land, principally one acre on the south side of the hill, for a fruit-garden. Being then more than sixty years old, I had little expectation of getting fruit; and, in order to hurry the matter, I bought a few large trees in full bearing from Mr. S. G. Perkins. Three of these trees cost thirty dollars apiece; but they have borne every year since they were planted, and in most years freely. I bought of him a large number of beautiful plum-trees, which have grown finely, but never produced any fruit of consequence, owing to the blight of the curculio. We have applied salt, have bricked around the trees, have knocked off and destroyed the curculio, syringed the trees with whale-oil soap, and, as a last resource, taken up the soil from many of them, and substituted mud from the salt marshes. The pear-trees have been carefully washed with alkali once

* So called from the former proprietor.

or twice a year, and the trunks surrounded with ashes to prevent the attacks of the borer. The most convenient and valuable crop which I have had consists of grapes, which I have found very useful to dispense to sick persons who could not get them. Both peaches and plums will probably do better in groups than singly, like other fruit-trees. I have gradually set out a great number of forest-trees, which, as yet, do not make much show: but, if I had known what I do now, I should have planted a much greater number at first, — say, thousands; and more than half I should choose to be of evergreens, on account of their beauty, and the protection they afford in the winter. Among the evergreens, the best, on the whole, is the Norway spruce. Our native hemlock is harder to grow, but more beautiful, than any other evergreen in common use; and it has the quality of shading, like the deciduous trees. The beach is a fine tree, and not sufficiently attended to.

For two or three years, I devoted much attention to the cultivation of corn, with a view to ascertain what species produced the best food. So far as my observations went, white corn was more easily digested than yellow; and I have always used the white meal, if any. The Tuscarora variety I found to be productive, agreeable, and capable of being used for sweet corn as well as other purposes. I distributed it pretty extensively among farmers. Those vegetables which are not much in use I have endeavored to cultivate; as the artichoke, large English beans, okra, the egg-plant, and Brussels sprouts. The soil being thin, and underlaid with rock for the most part, large quantities of manure have been required. The first year I owned the place, about two hundred loads were necessary.

The old trees, which looked very badly for want of nourishment, have since then been revived, and look well,

except where the soil is very thin, as on the south, near the grape-houses. I have used the nitrate of potash as a manure on about two acres of the Heath land, with good effect. Other experiments with manure I have not been been able to make, for want of an intelligent and attentive gardener, most of them being infected with the vice of drunkenness.

The Heath pasture, although excessively stony, has done better than the other, producing one crop of potatoes without any manure; and the vegetables in general there have done well, the soil being new and well cultivated: so that I have had the pleasure of making two blades of grass grow where one grew before. I got the plans for building a cottage there, but concluded it would not be profitable to attempt to sell lots at present, but rather to wait till they were in demand. It is rather singular, that, out of half a dozen pieces of land, three have been invaded by public works, and a fourth threatens to be so, — the Hammond-Pond wood-lot.

In the Agricultural Society, I have done considerable labor. Some years ago, I first proposed that a premium should be given for the best Essay on Manures. This excited attention to the subject, and brought out the Essay of Dr. Dana, on the manure formed by fermenting together peat and wood ashes, which may be considered as the most copious source of manure discovered in this State. The practical improvements in manuring in this State, and particularly in this vicinity, have been great.

About the year 1845, I proposed the establishment of a model farm in this neighborhood. This, after much discussion, was not thought practicable at the present time. Afterwards I proposed to the Trustees of the Agricultural Society to pay some attention to the horse. Being authorized by

them, I wrote to Dr. Edward Brooks, jun., who was then pursuing his medical studies in Europe, to inform him that the society would be ready to pay six hundred dollars to him, if he would prepare and deliver twelve lectures on the anatomy and diseases of the horse. He accepted the proposition, and remained in Europe two additional years for the purpose. He has returned home, and is expected to begin his lectures in February, 1850. There having been a fine model, showing the whole anatomy of the horse, prepared by Auzoux, in Paris, I prevailed on the trustees to purchase this at the price of six hundred dollars, and also to obtain the skeleton of a horse and of a cow. In the winter of 1846, I gave a lecture, in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, to the Legislative Agricultural Society and others. In the autumn of 1849, I questioned whether the trustees should any longer continue the experiment of keeping and breeding a pure English stock of cattle, the experiment having been continued for three years. I was appointed chairman of a committee to investigate the matter, and make report. This involved considerable labor, and terminated in a report that the whole stock (about thirty) should be sold as soon as convenient.

The practical attention I have been able to give to agriculture has been a source of pleasure, and, I presume, of health, especially where it was connected with the idea of some public utility. The satisfaction has been somewhat marred by the necessity of dining in company once a month, and the consequent derangement of health from the irregularity this dinner involves. Wine at these dinners I have not taken for some years, and have declined offering it at the parties I gave. The example has not been followed by any of the other trustees, except, in one instance, by Mr. Quincy; but it has shown that a pleasant dinner might take

place without wine or any stimulating drink. When I determined to adopt this plan, I resigned my office as a trustee; but the Board preferred to continue me in office, and give up the wine once a year.

From an early period, I had an attachment for the horse. This perhaps originated in the fact, that my grandfather, whose name I bear, and who was formerly Governor of the State of Rhode Island, made me a present of a small horse when I was but eight years old. He did good service to my father and myself for nearly twenty years. I used to employ him to ride out on horseback to my father's place in Roxbury.

As soon as I got into practice, I purchased a horse for saddle and harness, and visited my patients in town on horseback, as my father did the greater part of his life; and, two or three times a week, rode out to Jamaica Plain, or elsewhere in the country, rarely in a vehicle, generally on horseback. After a number of years of hard work with one horse, I was obliged to get a second; and ultimately, when my family grew large, to increase the number to four, and even five.

The first horse I owned, independently of my father, was kept by an excellent, honest man in Bromfield Street, by name Israel Trask. He dying from a too free use of the hostler's poison, I for many years kept my horses with a man by the name of Gurney, also in Bromfield Street, who was a temperate man, exceeding honest, but remarkably intractable. However, I got on with him; and finally he removed to the country. From him I went to Zeph. Spurr, also in Bromfield Street. He was the most famous

horse-keeper in his time, and not far from being the largest man in town. From his youthful face, he was called the Infant Spurr. He kept at the corner of Bromfield and Province Streets, in a very fine, large, old brick stable, which I suppose might have been the stable of Governor Cushing, who lived opposite, and on the spot where the Bromfield House now stands. Spurr also died rather prematurely, and left his business to Galen Holmes, who occupied the stable formerly belonging to Governor Bowdoin, in Beacon Street. He finally gave up business, moved into the country, and may be still living.

Finally, I determined to build a stable, and in concert with my brother-in-law, Mr. David Sears, purchased a lot of land in Byron Street, with which we connected two other lots, each belonging to us; and, by the agency of Mr. Cotting, built a large and commodious stable, which, though at some distance, has been a great accommodation. In all this time, I have owned more horses than I can enumerate; and recollect only three as having died of disease in my service. One of these, a fine brown horse, died at Spurr's from apoplexy, produced by over-feeding when he was not worked. The second was a horse which I bought of Colonel Jacques for five hundred dollars. He died of pneumonia, from an improper exposure while shoeing him. A third horse, called Brownie, died from standing an hour in a rain-storm in Harrison Avenue, while I was engaged in an operation for strangulated hernia. He had a canvas covering on to protect him from the rain; but, not being well secured, it blew off. The rain and wind penetrated to his back; and, soon after I returned to him, he was seized with a horrid shiver, and had an inflammation of the spinal marrow. From this he recovered so that I could use him; but he was subject to returns of lameness, and finally became

so far useless that I thought it best to have him killed. He was a horse of great power and speed.

A still more valuable horse, which I bought of Mr. Meacham for six hundred dollars, I let Mr. Lyman have. He was the handsomest horse in Boston; perfect in form; dark bay; very fine in the saddle. He was called Archer. After Mr. Lyman owned him about a dozen years, he, in riding to Brookline, made a misstep on the rise of the hill approaching my house, broke his ankle-joint, and, after a few days of misery, was killed. I have now the skull of a valuable bay mare called the Milkmaid. I owned her twelve years, when she became stiff, and disposed to stumble; so that finally I let her give up work, and live in the stable at Brookline, where she died of old age. She was the freest horse I ever owned; always set out at full speed the moment I was in the vehicle, and kept up the same speed till she reached her goal. Her physiognomy was remarkably fine, and her intellectual and moral qualities much superior to those of most horses. But she had one defect, that of stopping occasionally when she did not choose to go. But from her I learnt a valuable lesson of patience: for, if I struck her when she stopped, she always remained riveted to the spot; whereas, if I waited quietly till she pleased to go, the detention was not great.

Another peculiar horse, which I owned till he became too old to work, I purchased of my friend Mr. Edward Dowse, of Dedham. He was the most laborious horse I ever owned; having been driven in a vehicle, in one day, eighty miles without injury. He unfortunately got a habit of leaping upon boys when they pointed at him. On one occasion, having met my friend and relative Mr. Perkins in the street, and mentioned to him this peculiarity, he, without reflection, pointed at the horse; on which the latter sprang

at him, and would have killed him, perhaps, but for the intervention of a stone post. On another occasion, a boy having pointed at him, he sprang, and, with one of his fore-feet, kicked the boy behind his fore-legs, and then allowed him to crawl off.

A very noble horse, which I bought at the recommendation of Mr. William Lee for three hundred and twenty dollars, I afterwards sold to my friend Mr. H. G. Otis, at his earnest request. He was a black horse, lofty and spirited. Mr. Otis owned him a great many years, and did me the honor to call him by my name.

I have always kept my horses with great care and attention; scarcely ever used a whip, or even carried one in my hand, but have guided them satisfactorily by the rein and the voice. I never allowed them to stand exposed to the rain, nor even to severe cold, when it could be avoided, — especially when over-heated, — at least without covering them in case of any such exposure. I always regulated their food as well as I could, and endeavored, when I did not employ them at labor, to have them driven out to get an airing and exercise; which are essential to their health and happiness. The check-rein I have disused for some years back; but the blinkers I have not been able to get rid of, because the habit of using them had been too confirmed before they came into my hands.

Having ridden so much, almost always used very spirited horses, and kept them in full vigor, never worn down by fatigue, I have encountered some accidents, but was never run away with. The greatest accident I ever met with was in the year 1804, when riding to Mr. Mason's at Brookline, through the back street, now called Warren Street. I met the two Misses Higginson at a sudden turn in the road. There not being room to pass, and seeing them much fright-

ened, I drove aside upon a precipitous rock to make room for them. They, unskilfully driving against me, frightened my horse, who immediately leaped over the precipice, upset me in the road, and then, running to Mr. Mason's, carried the news of the accident to Mrs. Warren. In the mean time, however, the Misses Higginson, being apprehensive that some mischief had occurred, went home, and sent their brother, Mr. Stephen Higginson, jun., with whom I had been a voyage to Europe. He found me lying in the middle of the road, recovering, but covered with blood and dirt, unable to move. They carried me to Mr. Mason's, where, from the wounds in my head and one knee, I was in rather a bad state. My father being sent for from Boston, and knowing I was hurt, came out directly, and thought it best to bleed me. I objected very much to the bleeding, thinking I should do better without; but he persisted, and I was always in the habit of doing what he said. Colonel Perkins and Mr. Higginson were present at the time, and gave me all care and attention. I was laid up there three or four weeks: and it happened, providentially, that there was much sickness in the family at that time; and, the family being large, I was pretty well employed in practice all the time I lay on the bed.

Having joined the Agricultural Society in the year 1839, I, at an early period, recommended their attention to the horse. Objections were made, that we might encourage horse-racing. I prevailed on the society, however, as already mentioned, to send for an anatomical horse (at the cost of six hundred dollars); and soon after gave a lecture, exhibiting the muscles, heart and lungs, stomach and intestines, and anatomy of the foot. The Governor, and members of the Legislature, were present, and expressed themselves much gratified as well as surprised at the

beauty of the structure. I added, as far as time would permit, directions and cautions as to the treatment of the animal, and showed them how highly he was esteemed by the ancients; who said, that, when the ancient gods and goddesses were determined to make the two donations which they considered the most valuable, Minerva gave the olive; and Neptune, the horse. The society were so much impressed by this lecture, that they authorized me to send to Paris for the skeleton of a horse and cow.

The Trustees of the Agricultural Society having also chosen me, with Mr. Gray the President, and others, to consider the expediency of disposing of their stock of cattle, we reported that it ought to be done; and, in consequence, distributed a considerable portion of the stock among the County Agricultural Societies. We sold a large part of the Ayrshire cattle, at a good price, to Mr. George Lyman; leaving now in our possession about seven animals of the Devon breed, which it is proposed to sell or give to the Worcester District Society, our object having been attained by the introduction and diffusion of two pure breeds. In consequence of this change, a portion of the income of the society will be disposable; and I, at the last meeting of the society, proposed, that, at the next meeting, a discussion should take place on the disposition of this income. I suggested, particularly, as a matter of consideration in the mean time, the propriety of devoting these funds to improving the breed of horses. Dr. Brooks's first lecture was given in the Representatives' Chamber of the State House, by invitation of the Legislative Agricultural Association, on Thursday evening, Feb. 21, 1850. The hall was well filled at an early hour. The President of the Association took the chair, and I then addressed him on the part of the Trustees of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. I

explained to them the origin of these lectures, and their object; introduced Dr. Brooks, who then gave a lecture about an hour long, which was heard with interest.*

* Dr. Brooks dying, the lectures were taken up by Dr. Daniel D. Slade, who gave a very full and satisfactory course before the society, the Massachusetts Legislature, and many gentlemen interested on the subject, who were invited to attend.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JOURNAL. — LETTER FROM DR. ROOTS. — OPERATIONS. NEW MEDICAL COLLEGE.

JAN. 1, 1840. — A pleasant New-Year's Day, but cold. Received a kind note from Mr. W. A——; also a kind recollection from Mrs. J. C. D——, and a new purse from my daughter Mary. These are the flowers which are scattered along the rough road we must travel to a better state of being. For me they have lost none of their fragrance; but they are shaded by the yew and the cypress.

In the afternoon, went to a private meeting to consult with the friends of temperance on the course to be adopted at the present crisis. I spoke for some time, and, if not well, at least, I think, with good effect.

Aug. 9. — Yesterday, had a long conversation with —— on the Transcendentalists, and the tendency of their doctrine to produce utter infidelity. The true course is to see nothing and believe nothing but the pure and simple doctrine of Christ crucified for our sins, and to drive out of our minds the unhappy doubts which lead to mysticism on one side, and unbelief on the other. This is the only support against the troubles of this world, and certainly the safest preparation for another.

May 30, 1841. — Mrs. Warren quite ill with spasm of the intestines.

June 1. — Mrs. Warren's illness continues.

June 3. — Mrs. Warren has continued since the 1st instant to be affected with severe abdominal pains. At one, she was suddenly attacked with excruciating pains; and continued, notwithstanding opiates, in this state till six, P.M., when she expired in a chair.

June 5. — The funeral solemnities of Mrs. Warren took place in the same way as I should wish for myself. The male friends of the family met at the house a little before six, P.M., and, with the immediate family, followed the body to St. Paul's Church, where it was received by the Rev. Rector, Dr. Stone. During solemn music, he preceded the body through the middle aisle, and then, ascending to the desk, performed the first part of the burial-service; then a hymn was sung; and, descending from the desk, he repeated the latter part. The body, followed by the immediate family, was then conveyed to the vault during solemn music. A considerable congregation was present.

An event of this nature, always affecting, is particularly so in this instance. Her sensibility to the sufferings of others, and her anxiety to relieve them, rendered her own distress very dreadful to her family. The vacuity caused by the rupture of associations of thirty-eight years is greater than can be described.

Aug. 1. — This day, I have lived sixty-three years; a period much longer than I could have reason to expect. My father died about six months short of this time; and Mrs. Warren, with a constitution apparently much better, more than four years earlier in age. These are solemn facts for me.

Communion Sunday. — Dr. Dorr, of Philadelphia, officiated.

The question occurs, whether, during the short period remaining to me, I can lead a better life than I have done. Of this there is no doubt; and it must be my object to

discover in what respects I can improve, and endeavor to make up for past deficiencies, numerous as they are.

Aug. 3. — Mr. Lyell, geologist, arrived yesterday. Gave him all the information I could about his objects.

On Friday, 28th of October, 1842, died my friend ——, for thirty years my most intimate and confidential friend; for talents, piety, and steadiness of character, not surpassed by any one it has been my lot to know.

Jan. 1, 1843. — In the other affairs of life, incidents of a most striking nature have occurred to show the utter uncertainty of human calculations, the vanity of our best-founded hopes, and the necessity of looking to another existence for happiness.

In the year past, I have, on the whole, abundant reason to be grateful and contented. The health of my family, my own, the reasonable success of what I have undertaken, the happy settlement of my daughters, are subjects of high gratitude. I am, indeed, a lonely being; but the sense of this leads me to look higher than earth.

June 18. — Yesterday, the celebration of the completion of the Bunker-Hill Monument took place. The day was fine. The President of the United States took much interest in it. The address of Mr. Webster was admirable; the concourse of people, beyond precedent. The dinner, without wine, went off very handsomely.

June 25. — Prevalence of the Tyler grip.

July 1. — Influenza, or grip, very prevalent. Some are attacked with common influenza; others, with violent pains in the limbs; whence its name. Some have died of congestion of the lungs.

July 10. — Mr. John Prince (Dr. Warren's brother-in-law) very ill of paralysis.

Dec. 8. — An anonymous letter from a student, complaining I did not speak loud or distinctly enough. To-day, raised my voice considerably, with effect.

Dr. Roots to Dr. Warren.

KINGSTON UPON THAMES, Jan. 15, 1842.

MY DEAR WARREN, — I think the last communication between us was through our good friend Sullivan; and, though you delegated to him the trouble of letting me know something of your transatlantic movements, yet, with all due apologies to him, I shall go at once to the *fountain-head* in my reply: and my young friend will know full well, that, in showing *superior respect* to *his father*, it is reflected double-fold *on himself*. I was truly glad to find by his letter that you were enjoying tolerable good health, and that your "*Otium*" was, in some degree, established; and I need not say I was assured that it was accompanied "*cum dignitate*." You never, in your younger days, was addicted to *frivolous* ENJOYMENTS; and I think I can safely answer for your latter period not being encumbered with *nonsense*. But don't fancy me a rigid stoic; for I am convinced you will agree with me, that it is a part of our duty, in this life, to make ourselves, by all fair and honest means, as comfortable and happy as our few remaining powers will permit. This desideratum not only appertains to our own individual advantage, but is highly demanded of us for the use, benefit, and happiness of those most interested in our welfare, and who may have yet to tread in the path so long trodden by ourselves.

You will perhaps wish to hear (and, I flatter myself, with some interest) how the world wags with me at the present

time, and "*Voila l'histoire.*" After the great loss we experienced about two years ago, by the death of *my only three grandsons* in the short space of five days, both Mrs. Roots's as well as mine own health greatly suffered; and, in the early part of last summer, the first symptoms appeared of paralysis in her extremities. The main sources of nervous influence continued perfect; but the hands and feet lost all voluntary power. Every means that medical aid could be thought of was brought to bear, but in vain; and, in October last, I made up my mind to try what the warm sea-baths would do: though baths, *electricity*, "et id genus omne," which my best medical friends in London all joined in promoting, had been brought in full battery against this cursed scourge, over and over again, without any good result. Nevertheless, I gave up every thing to the trial. I went with her to Hastings, on the Sussex coast, the most congenial of our *seaside winter residences*. I staid there two months, most anxiously waiting the effect of ample friction in the baths; and I think I can safely say, something like a check or stop has been put to the growing evil. I came home at Christmas, waiting with anxiety for the riddance of the ensuing bad season. But misfortunes never come alone; and, on New-Year's Day, I was thrown from my open carriage by a wagon catching my wheel, which threw me with violence to the ground. I was stunned, but fortunately broke no bones; yet the shock and bruises I received still keep me to my room. There is good reason, however, to believe that a little longer rest will bring me round again.

Pray, my dear friend, write me a long account of yourself and all belonging to you. I wish you would publish your recent tour in Europe; no one is more capable for the undertaking than yourself. In a short time, the life and

correspondence of our old friend Astley Cooper will be published by my good friend Bransby Cooper, who has been in frequent correspondence of late with me relative to the early period of his uncle's life, and with which I happened to be well acquainted. I think it will be an interesting work, not only to our profession, but to the world at large. Give my kind regards, I beg of you, not only to my friend Sullivan, but to all your family. My son Ludlow is well, and, since our recent calamity, has got two children, *both girls;* and thus the *name of Roots* is *still in abeyance.* My brother, of London, has *no children;* and my nephews, both *barristers*, not likely to marry. "Sic transit GLORIA mundi." God bless you, my dear old friend! You are never thought of but with affection by

Wm. Roots!

In February, 1842, Dr. Warren published an account of an important and successful operation for removal of the upper jaw. This may be found in the twenty-sixth volume of the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal," and also in the "Medical Journal of the Medical Sciences." The operation was long and difficult; but the patient was a healthy man of thirty-five years of age, and he recovered perfectly.

In the same volume of the "Boston Journal" are several reports of surgical cases treated by him, — an operation for deformity resulting from a burn; fractures of the thigh, humerus, and arm; a case of strangulated hernia, — the operation performed by division of the internal pillar of the external ring,

without opening the sac; a case of burn, terminating in erysipelas, with pneumonia and pleurites, — fatal. Dr. Warren remarks, that, in old people attacked with erysipelas, inflammation of the lungs and pleura is very apt to occur, proving rapidly fatal, but without any of the active symptoms characterizing such a disease in a healthy individual.

In July of this year, a new medical journal was commenced, edited by Dr. Samuel Parkman and Dr. Charles E. Ware. It appears by Dr. Warren's journal, that he had agreed to give the surgical reports to this journal. None, however, were furnished by him; possibly owing to its brief existence. It was ably sustained, and contains much valuable matter; but, after the experience of one year, it was found, like several of its predecessors, to be attended with pecuniary loss, and was therefore abandoned.

In October, 1843, his second marriage, to Miss Anne Winthrop, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop, took place.

An affection of the eyes, produced at first by dissecting a putrid subject about which chloride of lime had been freely used, prevented his continuing his journal from July, 1844, to August, 1845. Up to that period, he had been his own amanuensis. He now resumed it by the aid of Mrs. Warren.

Aug. 27, he notices a pleasant meeting of the "Hasty-pudding Club," — an old college society.

During the period of this hiatus in his journal, he was as busily engaged as usual in the varied medical

and scientific pursuits which have been detailed. We find nothing especial to record, until the publication of a "Peculiar Case of Gelatiniform Cancer," which was read before the English Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, and published in the twenty-seventh volume of their Transactions.

In the following year (1845), he communicated a case of "Ligature of the Left Subclavian" to the society above mentioned, of which he had now become a member. It was read Nov. 25, and published in the twenty-ninth volume of their Transactions.

In January, 1845, he contributed for the "Journal of Medical Sciences" an account of some cases of strangulated hernia, with some remarks, principally intended to show the necessity of an early resort to the operation.

"Physicians," he says, "often repeat various other measures, and continue them until the strength of the patient appears to be failing; and the operation must be resorted to, as the only possible chance of saving the patient." As has already been seen, he was the first to perform the operation here (about the year 1803). At that time, physicians and patients were strongly averse to the operation. Latterly, there has been a change of opinion; and, for the last six years, there has been but one unsuccessful termination: this was in the case of a man who was not operated upon until three days after strangulation. Dr. Warren gives a detailed account of seven cases,

illustrating the propriety of an early operation, and of the means of effecting a radical cure. The employment of the warm bath, of cold to the part, and of tobacco, he considers inferior in efficacy to copious bleeding. These measures exhaust precious time and the strength of the patient; but in cases of strangulation not attended with severe pain, or other local or constitutional disturbance, the operation should not be too hastily resorted to.

JOURNAL.

Feb. 5, 1846. — This morning, had some conversation with Mr. Appleton on the subject of erecting a new building for the Medical College. The question is between enlarging the old one, and taking a piece of land, offered by Dr. George Parkman, near the Hospital.

Feb. 7. — Drew up a paper on the subject of a subscription for a new Medical College. Saw Dr. Hayward and Mr. William Appleton on the subject, and visited the spot where Dr. G. Parkman proposes to give a lot of land for the College, eighty by one hundred feet.

May 14. — News of declaration of war by Congress against Mexico.

May 29. — Yesterday, had the mastodon set up. It was visited by Mr. Lyell, who thought it very fine.

Aug. 20. — After visiting patients, set off from the Worcester Station to visit Long Pond, to be known henceforth by the name of Lake Cochituate, the old Indian name; meaning a copious and delightful portion of water. We went to the south part of the lake first; and then, taking the Saxonville Railroad, landed within a mile of the place where the lake was to be opened. In this way, we had an opportu-

nity of seeing the outlet of the lake, which seems to be a considerable river. We then proceeded to the north part of the lake on foot, to where the opening is to be made. Ceremonies were performed by the Mayor and the Water Commissioners, aided by three hundred people from Boston, crowds from the country, and a band of music. From thence we returned to a hall erected for the purpose, and dined very comfortably, aided by excellent water from the lake. No wine or other liquor, and no spirit, though plenty of wit. Altogether, very amusing.

Oct. 9. — Passed an hour on the skeleton of the mastodon. The difficulties of the description seem rather to increase than diminish: but, as there is no monograph, I must proceed patiently till it is accomplished; which cannot be for some months.

Oct. 16. — In the morning, went to the Medical College to make some experiments on the renovation of decayed bones with glue. White glue gives, in some cases, a beautiful appearance; and the black gives great strength.

Did an interesting operation at the Hospital this morning, while the patient was under the influence of Dr. Morton's preparation to prevent pain. The substance employed was sulphuric ether.

Oct. 26. — Had a conference with Mr. Abbott Lawrence on the formation of a weekly meeting of gentlemen for social and scientific conversation. A number of names of gentlemen were agreed on to be invited to meet at my house to-morrow evening for the purpose of arrangement.

Oct. 27. — In the evening, a meeting of gentlemen on the new social arrangement for scientific conversation. Present, Messrs. A. Lawrence, F. C. Gray, Theophilus Parsons, Martin Brimmer, George Darracott, Dr. C. T. Jackson, Dr. Augustus A. Gould. I am to invite Bishop

Fitzpatrick, William Appleton, Rev. Dr. Vinton, and Dr. Holmes.

Nov. 4. — Went to the new College, and directed the arrangement of bells. Attended the ceremonies at the opening of the College, and heard an eloquent Address from President Everett. Dr. Hayward then made an appropriate Address.

Nov. 30. — Received a note from Dr. Morton and Mr. R. H. Eddy, requesting me to write a statement of my operations under the influence of ethereal gas.

Feb. 15, 1847. — This day, sent to President Everett my resignation; and addressed a note to the Medical Faculty, informing them of it.

March 2. — Visited the Hospital to-day. Went from there to the Medical College to prepare for my last lecture, which I accomplished with various interruptions. After finishing the subject of the teeth, I gave my concluding Address, — an historical sketch of the College and Hospital, comparison of the school with those of Europe, advice to the students and young practitioners. After this followed a repast, given by Dr. George Parkman; during which he and various other gentlemen paid me many handsome compliments. Received a letter from President Everett, stating that the corporation had received my resignation.

March 12. — Last evening, had a very successful meeting of the club. Remarks by Mr. Teschmacher, on crystallization by clay; Dr. C. T. Jackson, on petrifaction by iron; Mr. George B. Emerson, on the beauty of trees; Mr. Hays, on decomposition of lead water-pipes. Concluded by showing my Zeuglodon.

May 6. — Received a letter from Dr. Gould, informing me that I am elected President of the Natural-History Society; quite unexpectedly to me.

June 11. — Wrote a letter of condolence, and thanks for their donation to the Natural-History Society, to the Binney Family.

Sent a note to Dr. M. Gay, recommending that Drs. Jackson and Morton should settle their dispute in applying jointly to the British Parliament; and offered to aid them.

July 5. — Went to town early this morning. For some time, could not get access to my house, owing to the crowd. Visited Mr. Thompson's collection of pictures; many of them very fine. Paid my respects to the Mayor. Professor Gibbes, of Charleston, S.C., called to see the Zeuglodon; thinks it should be called by Harlan's name, — Basilosaurus; says Professor Emmons has retained casts of all the interesting parts. Professor Gibbes is about to publish on the subject, and made some important alterations from my specimens. Professor Mitchell, from Philadelphia, also called. He says that Professor Henry will be appointed, instead of Dr. Hare; and, if he declines, Professor William Ropes, who, he thinks, will answer best. Dined with the Society of Cincinnati, and was admitted honorary member. Got home at seven, with much fatigue.

Nov. 2. — Arranged a memorial to Congress on the subject of ether.

Made an arrangement with Mr. Ticknor for printing an article on the subject of ether.

Nov. 11. — Received a communication from the City Government, requesting a Report on the best material to bring water into houses. Saw the Mayor and the Water Commissioners this morning, and sent out notes requesting opinions of Drs. Hayes, Webster, C. T. Jackson, Messrs. Teschmacher and G. M. Dexter.

Nov. 25, Thanksgiving Day. — In the morning, visited patients. At eleven, attended at Brattle-street Church. At one, went to Brookline. At three o'clock, family dinner, —

eighteen at table; afterwards six grandchildren, besides two at the table; making eight. In the evening, about twelve more of the family, including Mr. Winthrop and Miss Tappan. Broke up at ten and a half. Mr. and Mrs. S. W. staid over night and the next day.

Nov. 27. — Yesterday, P.M., went to see, at the Museum, a Bushman-boy, said to be seventeen years old. He had high cheek-bones, turned-up eyes, projecting chin, good teeth, protuberant belly and nates, skin Mulatto-like, hair crisped very close.

Dec. 14. — Last evening, had the meeting of the church-choir here; nine in the whole. Music fine. Wrote a note to Mr. Tuckerman, advising practice in the church.

Dec. 16. — Last evening, Natural-History Society at my house; Bishop Potter with them. Had the singing mouse. This morning, letter from Professor Webster on water-pipes. Five operations this morning at the Infirmary; among others, anchylosis of the right arm, from fracture of the external condyle; removed under the influence of ether.

Dec. 17. — Last evening, meeting of the club at Mr. William Appleton's. Long discussion on water-pipes. This morning, went to Cambridge early to see Dr. Webster. Examined his collection of fossil specimens of Saurians, &c. I agreed to purchase them of him, the specimens being, as he says, about five hundred in number, together with the geological transactions complete, for three hundred dollars. Paid him this day. Wrote a letter to McGuigan regarding the Elephant Pizarro. Sent the catalogue of anatomical preparations at the Medical College to Dr. J. B. S. Jackson, curator. Sent to President Everett two papers, — one containing my donation of the anatomical museum to Harvard University, for the use of the Medical School; the other containing an historical sketch of the formation of the collection.

Dr. Warren to Dr. Jackson.

Boston, Dec. 16, 1847.

Dear Sir, — I send you a catalogue of the anatomical preparations I have placed in the museum of the Medical College. There may be inserted in the catalogue some which are not to be found, and others in the museum which have not been inserted.

After the lectures are over, I propose to go over the collection, correct the list, and if many alterations are necessary, from change of arrangement or any other cause, to have a new copy made.

Very truly yours,

J. C. Warren.

Dr. J. B. S. Jackson.

Dr. Warren to President Everett.

Boston, Dec. 16, 1847.

My dear Sir, — I beg leave to send you two papers, — one containing a brief sketch of the history of the Anatomical Museum; the other, a gift of that collection, with five thousand dollars, to the University, on certain conditions.

If you should think it desirable to make any changes in the latter, please to inform me before presenting it to the corporation.

Very respectfully

Your friend and servant,

J. C. Warren.

Dr. McGuigan to Dr. Warren.

MUSEUM BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 13, 1847.

DEAR SIR, — I am glad to give you the information you desire.

The Elephant Pizarro* was imported in 1833. He backed off the wharf after landing from the vessel at this city, and fractured his thigh-bone. He was unable to walk for six months, and limped for several years afterwards. He weighed nine thousand nine hundred and eighty pounds, and is supposed to have been twenty years old. He has wounded a large number of persons at different times, but never killed any one.

I send you the snake I promised, by the package express.

Yours respectfully,

WM. MCGUIGAN.

To Dr. J. C. WARREN, Boston.

Dec. 20. — This morning, wrote a letter of introduction to Dr. Hosack for the Rev. Dr. Scoresby. Received three hundred and fifty-four fossil specimens from Dr. Webster, and volumes of the "Geological Transactions." Gave to Mrs. M. W. Mrs. Hannah More's works, eight volumes; and to Mrs. D. the works of Bossuet (French), sixteen volumes.

Dec. 22. — Last evening, meeting of the choir at the church. Arrangements made for a second choir, at the expense of three hundred dollars per annum.

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* The skeleton is now in the Warren Museum of Natural History, 91, Chestnut Street.

Dec. 23. — Sent to Moses Grant one hundred dollars for the use of the temperance cause. Operation at the Hospital on a tumor, under etherization. Read the full account of Dr. Deane and Professor Hitchcock's controversy on ornithicnites.

Dec. 29. — Passed some hours in the morning in experimenting with chloroform on various patients and some medical gentlemen at the Hospital. Made some experiments on its physical and chemical properties, and prepared an additional article to the paper on "Etherization." Put up for England, in a box committed to Harnden, thirty-eight copies of "Etherization," and four copies of Dr. Holmes's Introductory Discourse. Wrote to Mr. Scurving, nursery-gardener and seedsman, Liverpool.

Dec. 31. — Sent twenty dollars to Mr. Rand, in New York, formerly a painter in London, very poor. Received Mr. Appleton's account; found to be correct. Delivered a certificate of fifty shares in the North-Adams Railroad, worth five thousand dollars, to Mr. William Appleton, to be delivered to Harvard University as a donation. Had an interview with Colonel Magennis, of an hour's duration. Last evening, at the club, inhaled chloroform, or perchloride of formyle. It was administered on a linen handkerchief. Dr. J. applied it so close to the nostrils, that no air could be admitted with it. The consequence was a sense of heat passing in the nostrils down into the lungs, like the inhalation of flame. This lasted for some hours, with a constant inclination to expectorate. Insensibility came on slowly, and was not complete, owing to the impossibility of free inhalation. Passed an hour this evening in settling annual bills with Mr. Smith. Notes to President Everett and Mr. N. I. Bowditch. Letter to Colonel Magennis. Letter to Mr. Lacerte for a musk-ox.

In February, 1846, as appears from the journal, Dr. Warren consulted with Mr. William Appleton in regard to the comparative expediency of erecting a new Medical College on land in Grove Street, offered by Dr. George Parkman; or of enlarging the old College Building, which was now insufficient for the wants of the Medical School.

The former plan was decided upon. It was agreed to accept the liberal offer of Dr. Parkman; and Dr. Warren drew up a paper upon the subject of a subscription for this object. The donation above mentioned, however, and the sale of the old College, supplied the principal means. This sale was effected with so great rapidity, and under such terms, that, as the new building would not be ready for some time, the professors, with their preparations and apparatus, were nearly turned out into the street. Fortunately, the Professor of Anatomy was able to make an arrangement with the purchasers for the use of the building, at one hundred dollars per month.

The new building went on with good speed, and was ready for occupation at the time for commencing the lectures in November. Nov. 4, it was opened with appropriate ceremonies, and an Address from Mr. Everett, then President of Harvard College. This was followed by an Address from Dr. Hayward.

May 26, 1846, a Medical Convention was held in New York, from all parts of the United States; which resulted in the formation of an American

Medical Association, which have since held annual meetings in the different cities of the Union, some account of which will be given hereafter.

In June, Dr. Warren made a visit to the South. At Philadelphia, he examined the mastodon in Peale's Museum; which was quite an imperfect one, many of the parts being supplied by wood. He visited also the other public institutions, and attended a meeting of the Society of Natural Sciences. At the Hall of the Philosophical Society, he found a large collection of fossil bones, sufficient to form a fine museum of themselves. By Dr. Hosack's request, he operated upon one of his patients.

1846 was an eventful year in the medical history of Boston. The establishment of the new Medical College, which was so soon to become of unfortunate notoriety as connected with the fate of its benefactor, has already been related.

On the 16th of October, Dr. Warren performed an operation with a preparation which he received from Dr. Morton, and which was soon ascertained to be sulphuric ether. This was the first surgical operation under the influence of ether, though Dr. Morton had previously used it in the extraction of teeth. A full notice of this subject will be found in the Biographical Notes.

The bones of the mastodon, discovered the preceding year, which he had purchased, were now a subject of great interest and occupation; the arrangement of the bones requiring much study and scientific

knowledge. Oct. 20, he had them removed to his house. In this month, the meetings of the club for scientific conversation, in which he had taken so much interest, commenced. The club was formed under the name of the Warren Club, in honor of its founder; but the name was subsequently changed, at his desire, to the Thursday-evening Club.

In answer to the City Government, requesting his opinion with regard to the material to be used for pipes for conveying the Cochituate water into houses, a very full Report was prepared by the consulting physicians, and sent in the month of April following, after obtaining the opinion of the most distinguished chemists and other scientific men. It entered very fully into a discussion of the subject, and consideration of the various materials employed. It was published by order of the City Government. The conclusions arrived at were, that, —

1. Pipes made of cast or wrought iron may be safely used, as far as health is concerned.

2. That copper pipes, effectually tinned by reliable workmen, are safe, so long as the inner coating keeps in repair.

3. That though leaden pipes, under certain circumstances, communicate a highly deleterious quality to the water, yet, in open waters from which large cities have been supplied, no practical evil of a general nature is known to have resulted; and, with proper precautions, they may be safely used.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PAPER ON THE INTRODUCTION OF ETHER.

It has already been stated, that on the 16th of October, 1846, Dr. Warren performed the first operation in which ether was used.

By request, as he states, of R. H. Eddy, Esq., on behalf of Dr. Morton, on the 3d of December, he communicated an account of the operations which he had witnessed or performed, wherein the new agent was employed. This account was published in the thirty-fifth volume of the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal."

The first operation, he says, was for a tumor upon the neck, requiring a protracted dissection among important nerves and blood-vessels. Although the etherization was imperfect, the effect of the agent was made perfectly distinct to his mind. On the following day, an operation was performed by Dr. Hayward; the respiration of the gas was continued through the whole operation; and there was no exhibition of pain, except a few groans during its last stage.

The success of the process being established, he conceived it his duty to introduce it into the Hospital. But here a difficulty arose. The surgeons had

used Dr. Morton's apparatus and his preparation, the nature of which was kept secret; and they were informed that he intended to apply for a patent. In this case, it was contrary to the rules of the profession to employ it. After a conversation with Dr. Hayward, however, Dr. Morton agreed to make known the article. He was invited to continue his experiments at the Hospital; and, on the 7th of November, attended at a painful and protracted operation, performed by Dr. Warren, for excision of a portion of the lower jaw, in which the pain was greatly mitigated; and also an amputation of the thigh, by Dr. Hayward, in which the ether appeared to be entirely successful in preventing pain.

On the 12th of November, an operation was performed, by Dr. J. Mason Warren, for the removal of a tumor from the arm. The unconsciousness of pain was so complete, Dr. Warren states, that he was not aware the operation had begun until it was nearly ended.

On the 21st of November, there was another operation, by Dr. J. Mason Warren, for the removal of a tumor, which covered nearly half the front of the right thigh. The patient stated he felt no pain during the operation, and he was unconscious that it had taken place.

Dr. Warren concludes this paper by congratulating his "professional brethren on the acquisition of a mode of mitigating human suffering, which may become a valuable agent in the hands of careful and

well-instructed practitioners, even if it should not prove of such general application as the imagination of sanguine persons would lead them to anticipate."

This extract displays the habitual caution of Dr. Warren. It is very probable this caution gave greater weight to his opinions, which were soon communicated in letters to his friends in Europe. The sanction given by one so well known, and possessed of so many distinguished medical friends abroad, secured to this discovery a prompt and earnest reception; and it was tried everywhere, without that distrust which, in general, attends a new remedy. Its success is matter of universal knowledge.

It may now be matter of some amusement to recollect not only the popular ideas of the time, but that of grave journals. All agreed that a means had been found of annihilating pain, without disturbing consciousness. This was an error. It was subsequently found, that this agent, like every thing else, had its imperfections. The time for miracles in surgery had not yet come; nor was mankind yet to be delivered from its sore enemy, — pain. It probably will now be allowed, that insensibility to pain cannot be produced without loss of consciousness and of memory; and it may well be questioned, whether the habitual use of ether would not be attended with as ill or worse effects than that of opium or alcohol. Probably there are few medical men, who, if now called upon to give up one of the two, would not part with ether and chloroform, rather than with opium.

While opium, therefore, must still hold the first rank as a permanent assuager of pain, an invaluable blessing to mankind, ether and its companions or substitutes have settled down in their place as regular medical agents. General opinion has become adverse to their use in slight cases: but, for important operations, they must still be considered invaluable; and, used only in such cases, will seldom have any permanent ill effect upon the brain or the general system.

Dr. Warren's observations upon the history of ether are here given in his Biographical Notes: —

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The introduction of ether into surgical operations was done by my hands. Mr. W. T. G. Morton, a dentist, of Boston, called on me to say he had found the means of preventing pain in surgical operations; and he was so sanguine in regard to his new application, that I agreed to employ it on the first opportunity.

The prevention of pain in surgical operations had been a subject I had discussed almost annually in my lectures. I had tried many experiments myself, and had allowed mesmerites and magnetizers to make their trials.

Nothing, however, had the desired effect, in any degree, but opium; and in cases which threatened to be very painful, as in a case of lithotomy, if I saw no objection, I was in the habit of giving to grown males eight or ten grains, with some degree of effect in obtunding the pain.

The use of ether, after a few trials, became quite satisfactory; and, from that time, few surgical operations were

performed in Boston without it. Many hundred operations have been done by Dr. Mason Warren and myself with ether; and, considering the great power of this agent, it is wonderful we are able to say, that no important ill consequence at any time has occurred.

A little more than a year after the introduction of ether, Dr. Simpson, of Edinburgh, very unluckily introduced chloroform as a substitute. Chloroform was already known to chemists, and had been used as an anæsthetic by Mr. Bell, of London, the previous summer. Soon after, a series of deaths from this substance began to take place, and continued, till, in about two years, twenty deaths had occurred. Having previously published "Ether, with Surgical Remarks," containing an account of ether, and of a number of surgical cases and new operations in which it had been happily employed, I felt myself bound to show the dangerous effects of chloroform, and to warn surgeons against the use of it. Moreover, I thought it best to recommend ether in the place of it, or, what I particularly preferred, "strong chloric ether," which I had directed to be prepared as a substitute. This is preferable to the other, with the exception that it makes the face smart; an inconvenience which can be avoided by rubbing the face with ointment.

The first publication I ever made on ether was a newspaper article, soon after its introduction. I also wrote letters to the South, recommending it; and to the "British and Foreign Medical Review," in London, and the "Paris Medical Gazette." In the latter part of 1847, I published "Etherization, with Surgical Remarks;" and, in the year after, objections to chloroform (effects of chloroform and strong chloric ether as narcotic agents). I should also mention, that, as much as forty years ago, I recommended

and employed sulphuric ether in alleviating the last pains, particularly from pulmonary diseases. In such a way, I employed it for Thomas Davis, Esq., at that time Treasurer of the State; also for my sister, Mrs. Brown, to relieve pain.

About two years before Morton made his application to me, Dr. Wells, of Connecticut, applied for leave to introduce the nitrous oxide, or exhilarating gas, in the Massachusetts Medical College. I agreed to it; and he made the trial, but not with such success as to command attention. I have seen it used, however, since, with a decided anæsthetic effect. But it is not so convenient as ether, and not so safe; for it prevents the oxygenation of the blood to an alarming degree.

It was not until some time after I had used ether, that, in a conversation between Dr. Charles T. Jackson, Dr. Gould, and myself, I learned that it was on the suggestion of Dr. Jackson that Mr. Morton was first led to use ether to prevent pain. A violent controversy subsequently took place between Drs. Jackson and Morton, and I was frequently appealed to for evidence on the subject. The amount of what I know may be comprised in few words. Dr. Jackson suggested the use of ether to Morton, and Dr. Morton first employed it to prevent pain in the extraction of teeth; and, at his request, I first used it in a surgical operation. Dr. Jackson has also stated to me, that he advised Mr. Morton to apply to me to use it in a surgical operation.

"Etherization" was published in the latter part of 1847; giving the results derived from a year's experience of this agent, and from over two hundred cases in which it was used, or its employment witnessed, by the writer. It forms a neat little volume of one hundred pages, and gives an account of the operations of importance in which it had been used. At the Hospital and in private practice, it had continued to be used with uniform success.

By request of a distinguished person in Canada, Dr. Warren prepared an article for the "American Journal of Medical Sciences" for April, 1849, in which he goes into an examination of the effects of chloroform as a narcotic agent.

"The introduction of chloroform," he says, "produced an excitement scarcely less than that of the discovery of the narcotic effect of ether. The beauty of the article, and the rapidity of its influence, gave it an immediate and general currency; for not only was it employed by physicians, but the community took the narcotozing drug into their own hands, and, from the highest to the lowest, indulged themselves in the chloroform excitement.

"We were soon awakened from our dreams of the delightful influence of the new agent by the occurrence of unfortunate and painful consequences, which had not followed in this country on the practice of etherization."

The writer goes on to examine the different cases which had been reported of the fatal results of chlo-

roform, and of the appearances shown by post-mortem examinations.

The conclusion which he forms is, "that chloroform, containing the narcotic principle in a highly concentrated state, like many other powerful agents in the materia medica, although it may be employed in this state in some instances, yet, in common practice, should be used, if at all, in a diluted form."

On hearing of the fatal cases under the use of chloroform, Dr. Warren was led to resume his experiments with chloric ether, prepared, by his order, in a highly concentrated state. The result of these experiments was favorable. He considered it as irritating the lungs less, its inhalation as more agreeable; and it never produced headache in the operator or the bystanders, as was sometimes the case from sulphuric ether.

He always retained his preference for chloric ether. It does not seem, however, to have ever become a general favorite. Those surgeons who had become accustomed to the use of sulphuric ether adhered to it; while the effects of chloric ether were not rapid enough for those who had become used to chloroform, and who have believed, that, when pure, its cautious use, in proper cases, is unattended with danger. Professor Erichsen, in his treatise on the "Science and Art of Surgery" (second edition, 1857), after noticing the means proposed by Dr. Warren for obviating one of the disadvantages of ether, — that of irritating the cutaneous surface by anointing the

face with some protecting unguent, — says, "The fatal consequences which have attended the employment of chloroform, has caused the American surgeons almost entirely to trust to ether in preference. Certainly ether is a safer agent than chloroform, no death having, as yet, resulted from its administration; and the only argument in favor of the use of chloroform over ether is, chloroform is the most *convenient* agent, its effects being produced more quickly, and no disagreeable smell being left behind, as is the case with ether. In fact, we use chloroform in preference to ether, on the same principle that induces us to incur the increased risk of an express, rather than submit to the slower but safer progression of a parliamentary train."

At this time, also, he published the "Effects of Chloroform and of strong Chloric Ether as Narcotic Agents," — a little work of sixty-six pages, in the octavo form.

In February, 1850, he contributed for the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" "More Deaths from Chloroform." Another year had elapsed, and there had now been eighteen deaths from the use of this article. Perhaps, when it is considered how extensively this article was used, not only by professional men, but by the ignorant and the careless (often for the mere purpose of amusement or the pleasurable feelings excited), it may be surprising that the number was not greater. It was enough, however, to claim the serious and earnest attention of a medical man

in the position of Dr. Warren. In this paper, he gives an account of four cases of death from chloroform. It must be considered a valuable contribution to the history of anæsthetic agents; and doubtless, both from the weight of his authority and the publicity given to the fatal cases, contributed greatly to restrain its incautious use. The comparative slowness by which the effects of the ethers are produced, and their unpleasantness, must always be a restraint upon their employment. There can be no doubt, moreover, that the disgrace which fell upon chloroform has acted strongly upon ether, rendering the public more cautious or averse to it.

In concluding the subject of ether, a more faithful portrait of the operator cannot be given than in the following extract from a work lately published, on the "Discovery of Etherization," by N. P. Rice, M.D.: —

"The anatomical lecture which followed, delivered by Dr. John C. Warren, — whose recent death has left a void which can never be filled, and whose singular request, as regards the disposition of his remains, shows the devotee of science and the reasoning man, — always secured a crowd of eager students. The Venus de Medici and Belvidere Apollo (the first in marble, the second in plaster) stood sentinels at each side of the door which he entered. A long table for the reception of any specimens or preparations which he designed to exhibit, and before which he stood when lecturing, a number of carefully prepared diagrams and models, were all that disturbed the simple character of the room.

"The Professor, full of years and honors, was at this time in the zenith of his fame, and in the full enjoyment of the

confidence and esteem of his fellow-practitioners and the public. . . .

"His appearance was remarkable, and such as to attract the attention of every one who came in contact with him. His almost painfully thin yet upright form; his high forehead, covered with scanty gray hair; his shaggy eyebrows shading his bright, piercing eye; the deep lines in his strongly marked face, — all showed the man of iron will, and cool, fearless determination. Nor was this in any way disproved by the high, brusk, authoritative tones of his voice when lecturing, or about to engage in some operation. Here the wonderful steadiness of his hand, the unyielding, unimpressionable character of his nervous system, when interested in any detail of his profession, showed one reason for his professional success, and the benefits which he had been enabled to confer on so many of his fellow-men. It has been said that he was cold, haughty, and even unfeeling; that he looked upon and cared for nothing beyond his own success and reputation; that he regarded suffering humanity but as a medium for the exhibition of his skill and knowledge: but how well was this afterward disproved, when he had given up the active exercise of his profession! To him, medicine, the world over, but especially in Massachusetts, owes much; and his strenuous efforts and subsequent success in the *legalization of dissection*, and many dissertations and selected cases, will bear their fruits as long as the *ars curandi* shall remain a praiseworthy pursuit for man. Nor has science less cause to thank him for his exertions; and his museum of comparative anatomy, and carefully prepared collection of fossil remains, remain as enduring monuments of his patience and industry. His lectures, full of sound instruction for the student of surgery, and of simple, plainly stated facts for the novice in

descriptive anatomy, were freely illustrated by cases from his varied and extensive practice, together with such bits of information as he knew would prove useful, and which could not be acquired in any other way. Peace to his ashes! and may honor always cling to the memory of this high-minded, humane man and bold surgeon, whose happy lot it was to be the first to use publicly (regardless of sneers and doubts) that soother of anguish, whose advent he rejoiced in as much as the many whose sufferings it relieved!"

CHAPTER XXV.

RESIGNATION OF HIS PROFESSORSHIP. — LECTURES.

In November, 1846, Dr. Warren formed the resolution to resign his professorship in Harvard College, and wrote a letter to that effect; but, after a conversation with President Everett, he concluded to defer it for that time.

On the 15th of February next, however, he sent in his resignation. On the 2d of March, 1847, he gave his last lecture to the medical class, it being the termination of the course for the season. A very large audience was present; consisting not only of physicians and students, but of many gentlemen from other professions. After a brief history of the medical institution, the professor went on to give some advice to the students as to their future career. He advises them to cultivate in their leisure the higher branches of the literature of their profession, to cultivate a kind and cheerful spirit, and to evince a sympathy for their patients. He dwells particularly upon the conduct due from one medical man to another, avoiding every thing that may be to the prejudice of a rival practitioner. "Prosecutions for *mal-practice*, which have become so frequent," he says, "have almost always been traced to the private

hostility of a rival in the professional career. It may be said, that, while they deeply wound the character of the party assailed, their malignant influence almost always extends to him from whom they had their origin." He concluded by wishing for the students a continued zeal in the prosecution of their studies, and abundant opportunities of relieving the poor; an adequate reward for their labors from the rich; and, above all, a conscientious discharge of their duties through life.

The proceedings of the Corporation, upon the resignation of Dr. J. C. Warren, are given below: —

At a stated meeting of the President and Fellows of the University, in Boston, Feb. 27, 1847, the President laid before the Corporation the following communication from Dr. Warren, resigning his professorship. (Here follows in the records a copy of Dr. Warren's letter.)

Whereupon, *Voted*, That, in accepting the resignation of Dr. Warren as Hersey Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, this Board is deeply sensible of the important services rendered to the University by Dr. Warren, and holds in grateful recollection the successful exertions made by him for a period of more than forty years, and in continuance of those of his honored father, to raise the character and promote the interests of the Medical School.

Voted, That Dr. Warren be requested to continue in the discharge of the duties of his office till the close of the present academic year.

Voted, That the President be requested to communicate to Dr. Warren a copy of the foregoing votes, with the assurance that this Board cordially reciprocates the friendly and

respectful sentiments expressed towards the Corporation and the University in his letter of resignation.

On vote by ballot, Dr. John C. Warren was chosen Emeritus Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the University, in consideration of his faithful and valuable services as Hersey Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.

A true copy of record,

JAMES WALKER, *Secretary.*

This terminated the connection which he had held for forty years with Harvard College as Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.

Dr. Holmes, who succeeded Dr. Warren in the professorship of anatomy, gave the Introductory Lecture to the course, upon the 13th of November, 1847.

After alluding to the advanced state of the science of medicine in New England, he pays a warm tribute to the memory of the first incumbent and virtual founder of the professorship, whose eloquence was such, "that the dryest bone of the human body became in his hands the subject of animated and agreeable description." Alluding to the many monuments of his skill and industry which enrich the collection at the Medical College, he goes on to say: —

"His name would have been daily on our lips, had not a still longer life, one still more crowded with scientific and practical achievements, quenched, in the broad light of the present, the decaying splendors of the past.

"I shall not anticipate the task of another, at some future, and, as we trust, far-distant period, by enumerating all that is memorable in the public and professional life of my imme-

diate predecessor in this office. But his long devotion to its duties, and the almost unparalleled fidelity with which, in the midst of countless distractions, he continued for year after year to give his hours to the students of science, — hours which no importunity could win, and no gold could purchase, — these claims to our gratitude it cannot be indelicate to mention. And at the close of this life-long series of services, as he gave into younger hands the task which no premature infirmity had made too laborious for his own, the crowning act of liberality in bestowing his ample collections, and the noble endowment with which they were accompanied, cannot be passed over without one hearty and unstudied outbreak of the feelings called forth by every generous act from every heart capable of any honest emotion. The wanderer among the monuments of the dead may read the following words upon the tombstone of the elder Warren: —

Medicus inter primos,
Chirurgus facile princeps,
Novangliæ
Primam medicinæ scholam
Ipsius laboribus fundatam,
Per XXX annos
Doctrina sustulit,
Eloquentia illuminavit.

"There is another inscription which might be written upon marble; but no lapidary is needed to carve the legend deeper than it will be engraved in its simple truth in the memory of this and succeeding generations: —

Filius patre dignus
Novangliæ
Primam medicinæ scholam
Per XL annos
Ingenio ornavit,
Celebritate illustravit;
In omne ævum
Munificentia amplificavit."

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

My father being Professor of Anatomy, I was naturally led, when I began to study medicine, to think of following him in this course. This was, however, an occasional thought only; for I had not then, nor for many years after, a sufficient degree of confidence to lead me to believe I should ever be able to fill such a place with satisfaction to myself or to others. But attending lectures of various professors, and taking notes (which I always did), I became gradually interested in the matter of lecturing. In Edinburgh, I joined the Royal Physical Society. This society met once a week, or once a fortnight, and occupied itself in discussing medical questions previously given out. There were two such societies, — one called the Royal Medical; and the other, the Royal Physical. The former was resorted to by the English and Scotch students; the latter, by the American and Irish. Every student paid from three to five guineas on entrance. From the fund thus raised, which was very large, a handsome stone building was erected, and a large and valuable library was formed. When a question was proposed, it required a good deal of study to dilate on it in the presence of a large body of sharp-witted students. The debates were conducted in a very orderly way, and some bright thoughts were occasionally struck out in them. Cullen's nervous theory was said to have been first developed in the Royal Medical Society; and, if I mistake not, the Brunonian theory of stimulus and collapse was broached and defended in the Royal Physical Society. When I found courage enough to address this society, it occurred to me, I might, perhaps, be able to lecture; and the many societies in which I engaged after I returned home gave me an opportunity of acquiring

some degree of habit and confidence. The latter quality, however, I never possessed in a degree sufficient to make a good speaker; and the want of it, till lately, induced occasionally a nervous state, which interfered with a due degree of self-possession. Perhaps I did not take sufficient pains in elaborating my language previous to speaking. My plan was to study the subject of the lecture, whatever it might be, thoroughly, and then put on paper notes arranged methodically into divisions and subdivisions, so that there might be, in regard to the lungs, for example, five general divisions, — situation, form, volume, consistence, color. Then, in another lecture, would come structure, with its divisions and subdivisions. I made a point always to illustrate each part by physiological and practical remarks, or by some peculiar and striking display of the parts demonstrated; but was always a little apt to hurry, from the apprehension of being tedious. The only thing that carried me along comfortably was a knowledge of the fact, that my lectures were always attended at least as fully as any others; and at Cambridge, where the accommodation was not great, the lecture-room was overflowed. In the Cambridge course, I made it a constant object to direct the thoughts of the students in such a way as to produce some practical moral improvement. To manage this effectually, without getting among the students the reputation of sermonizing, which would have been apt to defeat my object, was not always easy. But I have constantly had the satisfaction of learning, from those who attended medical lectures, that they had derived information which had been very important to them in the conduct of life.

The most difficult lectures to deliver, in my course, were those on the surgical operations. The labor here was double: first, of describing the anatomy, pathology, and practice of an

operation; and, secondly, of doing the operation in a correct and striking manner. This could be accomplished only by great practice of all possible operations on the dead body; but, as there were never sufficient subjects at command, it was necessary to do this at other times, when subjects and time could be commanded. So I generally spent some weeks, after the lectures concluded, in going through all the operations which are known, and all that I could devise; and always, when time permitted, I went through the manœuvres of the operation before the lecture, so far as was practicable. For example, fistula lachrymalis, passing probangs, &c., always required previous operation to ascertain that there was no insuperable obstacle to its performance. Ultimately, I became able to do the operations in a more satisfactory way, by being careful not to attempt too much in one lecture. I was often obliged, however, to do eight or ten amputations in a single lecture, and do them all with precision and effect. When it is considered that the lectures were given in the midst of a full practice, and I was often delayed by inevitable occurrences from being at the lecture-room seasonably to dissect and prepare the subject, and as I always made a point of beginning punctually, it will readily be seen that there was much danger of imperfection in my anatomical demonstrations. I was necessarily compelled, before lecturing, to go over every part which had been dissected, to remove its imperfections and supply its deficiencies. The arrangements preliminary to the presentation of each part to the student's eye required a good deal of thought, time, and practical tact. If I was to do the same work over again, I would not attempt to lecture and practise at the same time. It is impossible to give a course of lectures on anatomy consistently with a full medical practice. My anatomical lectures

were, for many years, six a week, besides hospital visits and operations; and for some time, besides the lectures on anatomy and surgery, I gave an additional lecture in the evening, once or twice a week, on the principles of surgery. How this was accomplished, I cannot now understand, — accomplished, I mean, without my being overpowered by the pressure. But, in fact, although exhausted by the effort of descriptive and demonstrative lectures, I never felt any general failure of strength from this cause. So far as depended on me, this arose from, first, method; second, careful living; third, getting a little repose in the day.

First, as to plan. My arrangements for the day were made on the evening before, by making a regular list of my patients to be visited, and by arranging in my own mind other affairs to be done. For the latter I trusted to memory, and rarely made any note; the reason of which omission has been, that I did not feel the want of such a memorandum. Such an omission, however, I should not recommend to others; unless, as happened to Sir John Richardson, they were in the habit of neglecting to consult their written memoranda. I made an arrangement one evening with him to call for him with my carriage the next morning at half-past eight. He took a note of the engagement. When I arrived on the following morning, he had gone out. I thought, at first, it was from a misunderstanding of the time; but he called on me a few hours after, and, apologizing very handsomely, said he had trusted altogether to his notes for the recollection, but had unluckily forgotten to examine them.

In regard to the second head, — that is, careful living, — my general plan has been to rise at half-past five, A.M., in summer, and at half-past six in winter; to breakfast, taking about a gill or a gill and a half of liquid (usually

coffee), four or five ounces of bread, and a little meat of some kind; tea, the same, with rather an increase of liquid; at dinner, about a gill of liquid, — more in hot weather, — two or three ounces of animal food, and five or six of vegetable. For the last twenty or thirty years, frictions morning and evening, with a large circular brush which I introduced into Boston, and partial baths: but, within the last ten years, I have employed the shower-bath, with frictions before and after the bath, every morning; and frictions, without the bath, every evening. Another practice I will mention is to walk in my room every evening. This plan I adopted a great number of years ago, as a substitute for foot-exercise in the course of the day; being compelled, particularly in the winter during the lectures, to ride altogether.

The disuse of wine as an article of luxury has been a great advantage. The accidental taking of any considerable quantity of animal fat has always seemed to paralyze my stomach. This leads me to remark on the general state of my health. Indigestion never troubled me seriously till about the age of thirty. I then attributed it to the frequent dining with military companies; the long-drawn dinners, and use of much wine on those occasions. The same causes, I suppose, brought on the habit of constipation, which has required constant attention.

About the year 1825, I found out the use of bread made of unbolted flour, and introduced it into Boston, though with great difficulty and much ridicule. An improvement on this I introduced in 1846, in a still coarser wheat, broken up finer than common hominy, and taken simply in the boiled state with some condiment. I consider these two to be great and valuable improvements, and, for most people, the best way of remedying the common trouble of constipa-

tion. Riding on horseback, also, was very beneficial to the action of the digestive organs. This I followed from the age of ten years to that of sixty and over. I sometimes took journeys on horseback. Although always subject to colds from very slight causes, I do not recollect any indisposition of importance not dependent on indigestion. I had a slight febrile attack in Paris in 1801, and in Boston in 1820; but nothing serious in either case. Attacks of colic, and cramp in the stomach, have sometimes been very formidable. I had a very serious attack in Liverpool after the meeting of the British Association in 1837. This seemed to arise from too much bread and butter for tea, in a state of exhaustion. But I always thought the decomposition of the sugar in three cups of tea was the principal agent in bringing on the cramp. Since that time, from greater care, I have avoided any serious attacks. In 1848, the season cholera began to prevail a second time in Europe, there was a peculiar diarrhœa, which pervaded the whole of this country, but no cholera, that year. In the month of June, having, for the first time, taken off an under-waistcoat in the morning, and it coming on to rain a little in the afternoon, a chill occurred, which was followed by fever and diarrhœa. This diarrhœa, though often checked, continued till the beginning of November in the same year; cut me off in a great measure from fruits that season, and confined me to a regimen of white bread, meat, and rice; this in restricted quantities, with very little drink. At the end of October, I got a violent catarrh; and, having taken accidentally some indigestible food at breakfast, the catarrh suddenly ceasing, had chills, pain in my stomach, and vomiting, followed by fever and marks of gastric inflammation. When this subsided, the diarrhœa had also vanished, and has never returned; but a more healthy state of the digestive organs

has existed to the present time (Dec. 29, 1849), which is more than a year.

These facts of a personal and apparently insignificant nature I put down with some hesitation; but this has been overcome by the reflection, that they may be useful to others, and especially to my own family.

On the whole, the care I have taken about living seems inadequate to counterbalance the numerous and important causes of disease and decay; and, although something may be attributed to those efforts, my feeling on the subject is, that a continuance of my life and faculties to the present time must be attributed principally to Divine Providence, and not to my own care.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ANATOMICAL DISSECTIONS. — PREPARATIONS.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

No occurrences in the course of my life have given me more trouble and anxiety than the procuring of subjects for dissection in the medical lectures. My father began to dissect early in the Revolutionary war. He obtained the office of Army Surgeon when the Revolution broke out, and was able to procure a multitude of subjects from having access to the bodies of soldiers who had died without relations. In consequence of these opportunities, he began to lecture on anatomy in 1781; lectures at Cambridge, with dissections, 1783. After the peace, there was great difficulty in getting subjects. Bodies of executed criminals were occasionally procured; and sometimes a pauper subject was obtained, averaging not more than two a year. While in college, I began the business of getting subjects in 1796. Having understood that a man without relations was to be buried in the North Burying-ground, I formed a party, of which Dr. William Ingalls was one. He was a physician of Boston at that time. We reached the spot at ten o'clock at night. The night was rather light. We soon found the grave; but, after proceeding a while, were led to suspect a mistake, and went to another place. Here we found our-

selves wrong, and returned to the first; and, having set watches, we proceeded rapidly, uncovering the coffin by breaking it open. We took out the body of a stout young man, put it in a bag, and carried it to the burying-ground wall. As we were going to lift it over and put it in the chaise, we saw a man walking along the edge of the wall outside, smoking. A part of us disappeared. One of the company met him, stopped him from coming on, and entered into conversation with him. This individual of our party affected to be intoxicated, while he contrived to get into a quarrel with the stranger. After he had succeeded in doing this, another of the party, approaching, pretended to side with the stranger, and ordered the other to go about his business. Taking the stranger by the arm, he led him off in a different direction to some distance; then left him, and returned to the burying-ground. The body was then quickly taken up, and packed in the chaise between two of the parties, who drove off to Cambridge with their booty. Two of us staid to fill the grave: but my companion, being alarmed, soon left the burying-ground; and I, knowing the importance of covering up the grave and effacing the vestiges of our labor, remained, with no very agreeable sensations, to finish the work. However, I got off without further interruption; drove, with the tools, to Cambridge; and arrived there just before daylight. When my father came up in the morning to lecture, and found I had been engaged in this scrape, he was very much alarmed; but when the body was uncovered, and he saw what a fine healthy subject it was, he seemed to be as much pleased as I ever saw him. This body lasted the course through.

Things went on in this way till the year 1806; when, with the co-operation of my father, I opened a dissecting-room at 49, Marlborough Street. Here, by the aid of students, a

large supply of bodies was obtained for some years, affording abundant means of dissection to physicians and students. In the mean time, however, schools began to be formed in other parts of New England, and students were sent to Boston to procure subjects. The exhumations were conducted in a careless way. Thus the suspicion of the police was excited: they were directed to employ all the preventive measures possible; and watchers were set in the burying-grounds. Thus the procuring of bodies was very much diminished; and we were obliged to resort to the most dangerous expedients, and finally to the city of New York, at a great expense of money, and great hazard of being discovered. Two or three times, our agents were actually seized by the police, and recognized to appear in court. One or two were brought in guilty, and punished by fine; but the law officers, being more liberal in their views than the city officers, made the penalty as small as possible. Constant efforts were necessary to carry on this business, and every species of danger was involved in its prosecution.

Among the incidents which took place at that time, I will mention the following. I had with me at that period two medical students, who were remarkable for strength of body and mind. I requested these two young men to procure a subject for dissection.. They watched one going from the Alms-house to the burial-ground on the Neck, which was appropriated exclusively for the interment of paupers. They marked the grave where this body was deposited by placing a piece of stick in it; and soon after twelve o'clock, having carefully noted the visit and retirement of the watch, they proceeded to open the grave and remove the body. The grave being again filled, F. went into town to obtain a wagon he had engaged; T. remaining in the neighborhood,

where he could observe the return of F. It would have required less than five minutes to have removed the body into the wagon: but no sooner had they halted at the burial-ground, than a party of watchmen, who had concealed themselves within the wall, sprang upon them, seized T., and attempted to arrest F.; but the latter sprang upon his cart, laid the lash upon his horse, and went off at full speed, dragging with him two or three watchmen some distance. He soon got rid of them, and went off into the country. In the mean time, T. was conducted by two watchmen through Washington Street (or Orange Street, as it was then called), towards the nearest watch-house. As he passed along the western sidewalk of the Neck, with a watchman on each arm, he perceived an opening in the fence towards the marsh, now called Back Bay. Suddenly disengaging himself from the watchmen, he passed through the opening of the fence, leaped down the embankments by its side into the great open space below, where from the darkness, and want of paths, it was impossible to follow him. In the mean time, the watchmen, defrauded of their prey, sprung their rattles, filled the town with their cries, set all the bells a-ringing, to the great enjoyment of T., who, plodding his way cautiously through marsh, water, and ditch, heard all this riot, of which he was the object. Reaching the Western Avenue, he ascended the wall, and then walked deliberately to the toll-house, where, stopping to pay the toll, he found a number of men there, of whom he asked the cause of the disturbance which had been going on. One of the men, surveying him closely, clapped his hand upon him, and said, "You are the cause: you are my prisoner." It seems that these men had preceded him through the streets, and watched his approach to the Western Avenue. Once more a brace of watchmen set out to conduct T. to a

watch-house. When they reached the corner of Beacon Street and Charles Street, he said to the men, "Why are you treating me in this way? I have done you no harm." Thrown a little off their guard by this question, their attention was relaxed; and, with a violent effort, he extricated himself from their arms, ran up an open space between Chestnut Street and Mount-Vernon Street, and had gained a considerable advance on his pursuers, when a third watchman started out immediately upon him from Willow Street, and seized him. By another great effort, T. tore himself from the watchman, darted up Mount-Vernon Street as far as Belknap Street; then, turning into Belknap Street, he passed into the yard of Mr. George Lyman's house, which was then building, threw himself into a mass of shavings, and, before his pursuers could ascertain which way he had turned, was quite covered with fine shavings. The disappointed watchmen tramped over the shavings in every direction without being able to discover his whereabout, and, slowly winding their way down the hill, left him to enjoy a short repose; after which he arose, and made his way homeward without farther interruption. F., in the mean while, had a quiet time in the country, amused himself with driving about till morning, and then returned unsuspected to town. He is still living, in good health and prosperity; but has found a business more lucrative than the medical profession, and pursues the latter only as a matter of humanity. T. unhappily did not escape so well. The violent efforts which he made in running, and extricating himself from his pursuers, brought on hemorrhage from the lungs. He afterwards, although quite a stout and well-formed young man, had a return of his complaint, followed by cough, which terminated in consumption, and carried him to a premature grave. He was a real loss to society.

His mental and bodily faculties were in due proportion to each other, and both of them were of an elevated character. When we consider that this fine young man fell a victim to narrow-minded prejudices, we involuntarily ask whether we had gone back to the times of superstition and witchcraft.

At that time, scarcely any exhumation occurred without some similar accidents of the most disagreeable and sometimes painful character. The record of them would make a black-book, which, though the odium of it should belong to few individuals, would do no credit to the enlightenment of Boston in the nineteenth century, and convey an idea of the state of feeling of a professor of anatomy on the approach and during the course of his anatomical pursuits.

Sometimes popular excitement was got up, and the Medical College threatened. I had reason, at some periods, even to apprehend attacks on my dwelling-house. Whenever the lectures approached, a state of incessant anxiety came with them. At length the pressure was so great, that it was resolved to make an effort on the Legislature, though with very little hope of success. In the mean time, we furnished our students with subjects at the same rate as at present, — obtaining them from New York at twenty-five dollars, and distributing them among the students at five; and I usually contrived to save portions of subjects sufficient to occupy some hours every day from the conclusion of the lectures in Boston in March to the beginning of the course at Cambridge on the 1st of April.

At these times I made many preparations, besides superintending and directing those of my students. Among those who aided me most efficiently, I can recollect Drs. Gamage, already mentioned; Edward Warren, Wyman, George

Parkman (afterwards murdered in the new Medical College, to the erection of which he had contributed); Drs. J. M. Warren, Samuel Parkman, and Lewis. Preparations were given me from time to time by Drs. James Jackson, John Gorham, Spaulding of Portsmouth, Lewis, J. B. S. Jackson, Alexander E. Hosack.

I always did a part of the dissection for the lectures, completing what had been partly done before; and I always arranged the subject and parts to be demonstrated myself. Of late years, great improvements have been made in the latter process by coloring the subjects; so that, by the aid of this, I could make a splendid exhibition on a very poor subject. Besides these and other practical anatomy operations, I always dissected parts which I was about to operate on. So, in case of an approaching operation for a very difficult tumor, I dissected all the parts concerned, even to the most minute nerve and blood-vessel; even three or four times in some instances. Yet, in these very difficult cases, I was often baffled by the vast difference in the appearance of parts changed by disease from those in a healthy state. This diminished with time and habit; and at length I succeeded in doing most operations with a confidence of success.

In the mean time (1827 and subsequently), the Medical School was improving. About 1828, an application was made by the Medical Society to the Legislature. In 1830, the application was renewed; and an extensive and valuable Report was prepared by John B. Davis, Esq., and read before the House of Representatives.

At the same time, I gave various lectures on anatomy before the General Court, in the chamber of the House of Representatives, showing them the absolute necessity of human dissections to enable physicians to treat the

diseases of the human body; and ultimately succeeded in obtaining a law giving up the bodies of unreclaimed paupers. This law was improved in 1833, and again improved about 1840. The Superintendent of the House of Industry opposed great difficulties to the execution of this law; but, he dying in 1847, an ample supply was obtained for the Medical School afterwards, particularly in consequence of the influx of Irish paupers, and the great mortality among them.

While we were in Mason Street, there was a pupil in the Medical School who had a taste for procuring subjects. He sometimes executed the business alone. On one occasion, he was in the South Burial-ground the latter part of the evening, looking for a subject which he had marked during the day. While he was taking a survey, he was surprised by a party of watchmen, who took him to the watch-house, and afterwards released him on condition of his appearing at the Justice's Court the following morning. He accordingly appeared, and met there his accusers, who charged him with being in the burying-ground for the purpose of digging up one or more bodies. After quietly listening to the charge, he broke out in terms of the most indignant character, accusing these people of a conspiracy to extort money from him or to destroy his reputation, and threatening them with an action. The men were taken by surprise; were astonished and meek. The justice, finding he had committed no act of an illegal nature, discharged the accusation; and the watchmen were glad to sneak off without more words. This man obtained a medical degree, and settled in the city of Mexico, where he may be still living.

An interesting case of a young woman who died in the House of Industry occurred at the Medical College ten

years ago. Under the law of 1830, the body of a young woman, about twenty-five years of age, was delivered for dissection. Two days after, her sister came to me, informed me that the body of her relative had been removed without her knowledge, and begged me to stay any further dissections, and give up the body for interment. I immediately agreed to her request; and, the following day, the relations met at the Medical College. The body was once more placed in its narrow cell, the usual ceremonies were performed, and the relatives had the satisfaction of seeing the remains again deposited in the ground, and well covered with earth.

We had two or three preparations for the lectures at Cambridge before I visited Europe in 1799. When I went to London, and met Senter of Newport, he began directly to talk about John Hunter's preparations. Sir Astley Cooper, also, was at that time quite full of this subject. In consequence, I soon became infected with the desire of making them, and commenced in earnest the study of the art of making both wet and dried preparations.

From that time to the period of my resignation of the Professorship of Anatomy, I availed myself of all opportunies, summer and winter, from year to year, of accomplishing this object; so that it became a primary occupation and a pleasure; the most agreeable relaxation from professional pursuits; and, in one sense, was my daily meat and drink. The idea of nicely injecting a delicate piece of anatomy, of macerating it to a snow-like whiteness, and of enclosing it in an elegant glass vessel of perfectly transparent liquid, had more charms for me than games or plays or parties. In London, I made some very nice blood-vessel injections, particularly one of the arteries of the arm; which, though not the most minute, is the best practical

exhibition of these vessels, taking into view their relations to the muscles, which I know of.

Senter was ahead of me in this art, and had made a collection, which, though small, contained many beautiful pieces. These, after his unfortunate death, I purchased of his executors. In Paris, Dubois did not encourage me to pursue this subject. He recommended me to stick close to the recent subject. I contrived, however, to work out a number; and whether I purchased any, I do not recollect; but I think not.

From my return home in 1802 to 1806, there being a scarcity of subjects, little was done in the way of preservation. After opening a dissecting-room (No. 49, Marlborough Street), and obtaining a copious flow of good subjects, preparations went on rapidly in osteology, in blood-vessel injections, and in alcoholic wet preparations. But I did not begin to purchase till we obtained the new Medical College in Mason Street, and sufficient room for displaying the collection. We had a good dissecting-room, conveniences of hot and cold water, means of disposing of the relics; and the collection went on rapidly till a room about fifteen by twenty feet was filled. The school having enlarged, and the accommodations for dissecting-pupils being too limited, I proposed to the corporation, with the consent of my colleagues, that, if they would contribute about half the expense for a new dissecting-room, and the conversion of the old into a museum, I would pay the other half. This proposal was agreed to; and a dissecting-room was erected, much superior to the present one in the Grove-street College. The old dissecting-room was made into a convenient museum. I had now room to make macerations, hot and cold dissections, regular and methodical arrangement of all the articles used in making preparations, and comfortable

quarters for any assistants independent of mine. I now passed a great deal of time in my private dissecting-room: in fact, every spare hour from business was devoted to this object. The most delicate of the wet preparations I dissected, made, and put up myself; but in the dissection of arterial preparations, and putting up the gross wet preparations, I received great aid from my pupils, especially from Dr. William Gamage, jun. With his aid, I made some valuable absorbent preparations, one or two of which still remain; others, by frequent use, have lost their quicksilver. I succeeded in getting a number of casts made here, and also some very beautiful wax preparations, by an Italian, who resided here for some time. As opportunity offered, I availed myself of the death of foreign animals to make preparations in comparative anatomy. But, notwithstanding a strong taste for this department of science, I thought it impossible to cultivate it without sacrificing surgery; and this I was determined not to do, having always, after the death of my father, held up to myself as a primary duty the perfect qualification for the safe and ready performance of every known operation of surgery: so that much time, which I could gladly and gratefully have employed on comparative anatomy, was occupied with the more important duty of perfecting myself in dissections of parts subject to the most difficult and frequent operations.

The facilities for such dissections were much increased by methods of preparation which I brought from Paris in 1838. While I was there, Ganal brought into use the super-sulphate of alumine for embalming and otherwise preserving dead bodies. The method of Ganal answered perfectly for preservation; but, when parts injected with it were long exposed to the air, they became dry and dark colored. Ganal's mode was to inject the blood-vessels with

the super-sulphate. I did this, and then immersed the body in rum, solutions of arsenic and of corrosive sublimate. By this method, I have succeeded in preserving subjects for months, and even years. The last winter, on opening a cask to examine a subject which had remained in spirit about eight years, as nearly as we could tell, it was found to be in fine preservation. Two other subjects had been preserved at least four years, one of which, when taken out and dissected, remained on the dissecting-table eight weeks without being inconveniently offensive.

Dr. Mason Warren, going to Europe to pursue his studies in the year 1832, took the opportunity of selecting a considerable number of preparations, particularly a collection of morbid bones, among which were many curious specimens. These greatly augmented the collection; and when in Europe myself, a few years after him, I procured many beautiful osseous pieces of Guerin and of Guy. Guy also set out to make a series of representations of cutaneous diseases in the Hospital St. Louis; but, after making six or eight, he stopped. Shortly after, I sent to Florence for a collection of absorbent preparations; but, instead of what I wished, received the beautiful pieces in wax. This led me to send a second time, and obtain the real absorbent vessels. Besides these, I obtained from Dr. Lewis two very good ones. Subsequently, Dr. Mason Warren, being compelled, in pursuit of health, to visit Europe a second time, made a considerable number of purchases, particularly in osteology and comparative anatomy. Both of us obtained a number of beautiful pieces from Auzoux in papier-maché, some in comparative anatomy, some in human anatomy and embryology.

In the mean time, the collection, dissection, and preservation of morbid specimens went on from year to year. All

the morbid pieces removed in operations were carefully macerated, and put in spirit. But after this came a neglect, which was the source of many troubles. From excess of business, I often neglected to mark the specimens. After a short time, their identity could not be made out; and they were lost, or remained ever after in a state of uncertainty. This, I am sorry to say, still occurs sometimes. When the Hospital was first opened, I had all the operations; and Dr. Jackson gave me, at first, all the morbid pieces from his subjects. This continued till the Museum of the Society of Medical Improvement was formed; after which, most of the pathological pieces fell into their hands.

At length the new room in the Medical College in Mason Street became crowded and overflowing; and one day, meeting Dr. George Parkman, he said, "I never pass the Medical College without an apprehension of its being burnt." — "How can we remedy the evil?" said I. "Oh!" said he, "you must get a new place." — "Well," said I, "where is the money to come from?" — "Oh! you can make a bargain so as to get on without paying any thing." Two or three years after, the college becoming more crowded, we began to think more seriously of Dr. Parkman's suggestion; and finally a negotiation was entered into, which terminated in his giving land enough in Grove Street to build a college. He intended also to have cleared away the buildings in front and on the east side, and was actually engaged in arranging the matter when he was cut off.

The new college was built on his land in Grove Street, with an ample museum. Though my collection was found nearly sufficient to fill it, since then I have given additional preparations, from time to time, as opportunity presented, and particularly the collection of casts made by the Phrenological Society. I also put all my preparations in good

order when they were presented; as well as the Venus de Medicis, given by President Everett, and the Apollo Belvidere, which I purchased from Solomon Willard, given by myself. Dr. J. B. S. Jackson has now arranged all these, marked them with their proper names, and with those of the donors. The Committee of Supervision appointed by the corporation, of which Dr. James Jackson is chairman, have, at my suggestion, arranged and proposed a set of rules for regulating the use of the preparations by the professors, and ascertaining when any were injured or lost.

Dr. Gamage assisted me a number of years, and made many valuable preparations. He at last gained so much information in anatomy and physiology as to aim at the professorship in physiology. The state of the school not admitting this, he gradually separated himself, and attended to his practice, which was considerable. He took some odd notions of practice; for, having adopted the system of inflammation as the cause of all diseases, he bled all his patients. It was said he bled a woman, in an advanced stage of dropsy, seventeen times.

He was ultimately attacked with symptoms of dyspepsia, with some pulmonary embarrassment. For this he bled himself, and was thought to have fallen a victim to his theory. He was a man of very handsome natural abilities; of great industry and perseverance; was becoming a learned man at the time of his death; and would, notwithstanding his ultra theories, have probably made a figure in his profession, had he lived.

The following instances will give some idea of the labor and the risk of obtaining specimens for an anatomical collection. A patient in a public institution, which I attended at the time, had two unreduced dislocations. He had also two herniæ; one of which contained nearly all the intes-

tinal tract, from the duodenum to the upper part of the rectum. It extended to the knees, and was supported by a round towel, formed by uniting the two ends, called a "roller," slung over his shoulder. This man having died of premature old age, I dissected out the whole articulation of the shoulder on each side, containing the scapula, clavicle, and half of the os humeri, and tied them in a cloth. A portion of round stick was then inserted in place of the deficient ossa humeri, and the skin sewed over. Next the skin was dissected from around the pelvis; the anterior spinous process of the ilium, with the connected muscles, were sawn out. The whole digestive tube, from the stomach to the rectum, was then dissected out, and removed, *en masse*, in common with the muscles, and portions of bone; the abdomen filled with old woollen cloths, and neatly sewed up. The parts were then treated in the following manner: Portions were sawn out of another pelvis to correspond with the pieces on the removed intestines; then the vessels of the intestines were tied, by first injecting water into them through the iliac artery, — the labor of securing all the small vessels in such an immense surface being very great; this, however, was happily accomplished; — then a wax injection was thrown into the aorta, the whole system of mesenteric arteries injected, and the two epigastrics, encircling the mouths of the two hernial sacs, were beautifully injected and displayed; the intestines were then inflated and carefully tied; they were then fitted into the new pelvis, — the spinous processes of the old being fastened to the sawn excavations in the new. The piece was then suspended, carefully dried, varnished, and is now in the Medical College, in a state of perfect preservation. The junction of the old and new pelvis would scarcely be noticed. In fact, no person, I believe, has any suspicion

that the pelvis and the viscera belong to two different persons.

A lady, more than a hundred years old, fell on the trochanter, and broke the neck of the thigh-bone. She appeared to be doing very well; but, a month after the accident, suddenly died. It was important to examine and preserve the fractured part. Permission was given. The pelvis was carefully dissected out with a quarter of the shaft of the thigh-bone; a piece of stick was placed in connection with the spine, and the skin sewn over; and then the body was placed in its coffin. This pelvis exhibits the fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone with the union of the fracture, without shortening of the limb; the fracture being an *enclavement*.

A very remarkable individual, of the Indian race, was ill in a public institution in this city. He had a softening of all the large longitudinal bones from rickets, and one or more new joints formed in them. The thigh-bone had, I think, three of these false articulations. The lower limbs were curved so as to form nearly a semicircle. The patient never walked, but sat in a large wooden bowl, which he gradually moved onwards with his hands by a lateral progression. The man died, aged about twenty-one years. It was very important to prevent the body from being buried and decomposed. With the permission of the head of the establishment, I took the body out of the coffin, placed it in a bag, and substituted a log of wood. The log was quietly interred; the body taken in my chaise to the Medical College. The undertakers, some time afterwards, intimated that they should be glad to have a smaller log the next time, and that it should be fixed in the coffin so as to prevent its rolling from side to side.

Such instances as the above may appear improper to

those who do not appreciate the importance of the objects. But the surgeon and the teacher have a high moral duty to perform to their patients and to the community; and, in the eye of reason and religion, they will be less culpable for preserving articles so very important and useful, than if, through fear or neglect, they allowed them to be wasted in the bottom of a grave.

END OF VOL. I.